UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DRESS IN RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, 1815 TO 1835

BY

AILEEN McKINNON

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1992

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-73116-8

Canada

October 17, 1991

Aileen McKinnon
812 Silverstone Ave.
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada
R3T 2W6

Pemmican Publications
Unit 2, 1635 Burrows Ave.
Winnipeg, MB.
R2X 0T1

Attn. Sue MacLean

As per our telephone conversation, I am writing to request copyright permission to use Map 2 from D.N. Sprague's "Geneology of the First Metis Nation". The map appears opposite page 27. I am enclosing a photocopy of the page as it appeared. I am a graduate student at the University of Alberta and I am currently writing my thesis. My thesis title is "Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815-1835". I am planning on using the map in my discussion of Red River Settlement. All that is required is a photocopy of this letter with an approved stamp across it. The reply may be sent to the above address

Sincerely,

Aileen McKinnon

Aileen McKinnon

Oct 23/91 Permission granted. Sue MacLean for

PEMMICAN PUBLICATIONS INC.
UNIT # 2 - 1635 BURROWS AVE.
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R2X 0T1
PH: (204) 589-6346

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Aileen McKinnon

TITLE OF THESIS: Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835

DEGREE: Master Of Science

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: Spring, 1992

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion therof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

Aileen McKinnon

ADDRESS:

812 Silverstone Avenue

Winnipeg, Manitoba

R3T 2W6

Date: April 6/92

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **DRESS IN RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, 1815 TO 1835** submitted by AILEEN McKINNON in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE in CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

J. Oakes (Supervisor)

A. Lambert

J. Foster

Date: April 14/92

ABSTRACT

Dress is well documented as a form of communication; studies of a population's dress reveal much about its wearers. The Red River Settlement contributed much to Western Canadian history. However, little research has examined the material culture of this area and even less has dealt with dress and textiles. Analysis of the population's dress and textile purchases reveals differences among demographic groups and provides insight into the structure of the population. The purpose of this study is to identify the factors influencing the textile and dress purchases of the Settlement's population from 1815 to 1835.

Two separate sources of data, both from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, were consulted. The first source was the Hudson's Bay Company Settlers' and Servants' Accounts Ledgers for the Red River Settlement. The Red River Settlement Censuses constitute the second source. The years investigated were 1815, 1824, 1830 and 1835. Content analysis was used in data collection. Data was taken for 308 families from the ledgers and 161 families from the Red River Census. Ledgers contained the following information: the settler's name, the date, the quantity of the item purchased, the item's name, a unit price, and the price along with a final balance. Censuses indicated the following: the family name, country of birth, religion, total family size,and number of cultivated acres, buildings, and livestock.

The Ledger and Census data were statistically analyzed with the aid of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences^{X} (SPSS^{X}). The analysis of data revealed a greater purchase frequency for certain categories of textile and dress items based on demographic factors.

The results indicated that the factors influencing dress and textile purchases were: 1) demographic, 2) external, and 3) aesthetic. Demographic factors were comprised of the variables, race, religion, parish of residence, social position, and sex. External factors included the geographical area, availability of goods, and inter-settlement trade. Aesthetic preferences formed the third factor.

Acknowledgements

Financial support for my thesis research came from the Madeleine E. Bannister Memorial Bursary, Department of Clothing and Textiles and the University of Alberta, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research.

Special thanks must go to my thesis committee. For my supervisor Jill Oakes whose constant encouragement was always welcome and whose recipes for muskrat muffins were a reminder of a world outside of grad studies. For Anne Lambert who introduced me to the University of Alberta and who guided me through the initial stages of my research. Dr. John Foster was always available to discuss the historical aspects of this study and I was fortunate to have him sit on my committee.

For my parents and brother, thank you for the love, encouragement, long distance phone calls, and sense of humour I've needed these past two (and going on three) years.

For Judy Stewart, who first inspired me to do graduate studies with her tales of "civilized" ladies in Lower Fort Garry, and who taught me the love for historic costumes, handwork and natural fibres.

For the Bochonkos and their lifesaving knowledge of modems, mainframes and Macs. For Dr. Fetterman and her help with the "I never want to see them again" statistics.

To all my friends who have been with me during this process. Especially Bonnie, Cyndy, Joan, Nikki, C. Roy, Kathleen and Crystal in CLTX and Tracey in Winnipeg They've been there to talk to, laugh with and to share a much needed pitcher with on Friday afternoons. And of course the distraction in Victoria, without Tim's 'support' this would have taken much less time, but would have been much less enjoyable.

INTRODUCTION 1
Purpose 2
Objectives 2
Operational Definitions 3
Limitations 6
Delimitations 6
LITERATURE REVIEW 7
Fur Trade History 7
Social History of the Metis 8
Red River Settlement 11
Acquisition of Goods in Red River Settlement 14
Costume History 16
Non-Native Dress 16
Metis dress 17
Methods 20
Historical Approaches to the Study of Ethnic Groups 20
Archival Material 20
Content Analysis 21
METHODS 23
Introduction 23
Framework 23
Sources 24
Data Collection 24
Statistical Analysis 25
Qualitative Analysis 26
RESULTS and DISCUSSION 27
Factors Influencing Post Store Purchases 27
Woolen Dry Goods 35
Men's Ready Made 39
Temporal Variations in Purchases 41
Textile and Dress Items as a Percentage of Household Expenditure 44
Acquisition and Production of Goods in the Red River Settlement 47
Acquisition of Goods in the Red River Settlement 47
Cloth Production in the Red River Settlement 49
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS 52
Summary 52

Conclusions....54
Demographic Factors....55
Race, Religion, Descent, and Parish of Residence....55
Social Position....55
Sex Roles....56
Aesthetic Preference....57
External Factors....57
Geographical Area....57
Availability of Goods....58
Inter-Settlement Trade....59
Recommendations....59
Critique of Methods....59
Critique of Sources....60
Future studies....61
REFERENCES....62
PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS....70
APPENDICES....71
Appendix A....72
Appendix B....73
Appendix C....74
Appendix D....77
Appendix E....79
Appendix F....80
Appendix G....82
Appendix H....88

LIST of TABLES

Table 1. Preference for Colour of Stroud by Race and Religion 38

Table 2 Correlation between PSNT and Buying Power and PTEX and Buying Power 47

LIST of FIGURES

Figure 1. Textile and Dress Items Purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company Store, 1815 to 1835 29
Figure 2. Woolen Items Purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company Store, 1815 to 1835 37
Figure 3. Men's Ready Made Items Purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company Store, 1815 to 1835 40
Figure 4 Purchase Dates of Textile and Dress Items from the Hudson's Bay Company, 1815 to 1835 42
Figure 5 Household Expenditure on Textile or Dress Items, 1815 to 1835 44
Figure 6 Household Purchases of Textile or Dress Items, 1815 to 1835 45
Figure 7. Comparison of Red River Settlement's Population to Post Store Customer Base 46

INTRODUCTION

Dress has been well documented as a source of unspoken communication. Roach and Musa indicated this was because "humans associate meanings with its [dress'] total form, or elements, details, or attributes of that total form" (1980, p. 14). Eicher and Roach-Higgins stated that "dress emerges as communicator of identity in social situations" (1989, p.7). They defined dress as a communicator of one's subjective identity (see definitions, p.3) and one that demonstrated "social variations based on ethnic or social classes into which a person is born" (p.7). McCracken (1982) suggested that "the study of dress enables one to examine aspects of a social and political world that are not otherwise obvious and to discover cultural meaning hitherto obscure" (p.54). Barth (1969) stated that ethnic groups could be distinguished from each other in two ways "i) overt signals or signs --- the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, house-form or general style of life, and ii) basic value of orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged" (p.14). These act as boundaries by which groups can be differentiated. Many factors can contribute to the dress choices people make. Factors can be physical (such as age of the wearer), environmental (the climate of the area), psychological, and social (Kefgen & Touchie-Specht, 1986). If indeed, dress is a form of communication, then a study of a population's dress should reveal much about its wearers. Historic sites have always had difficulty in portraying interpreters as native or metis as quite often non-native interpreters are used. Costume is an extremely effective method of illustrating social and cultural differences as people readily identify with its visual cues.

The Metis' role in the fur trade and their latter activities in Red River Settlement created a population rich in its history and its contributions to the Western Canadian native identity. Sprenger (1972), however, commented that "in spite of their [the metis'] early prominence, the number of books and articles specifically concerned with the Metis people is very small" (p.158). Gosman, (1977) remarked that a "discussion of Metis 'material culture' is restricted by the availability of documentation in this area" (p.44). Perhaps as a result, many historians and museum professionals have tended to group Indian and metis material culture together. Brasser (1987) attributed this to the fact that "Red River metis culture and its artistic expressions flowered and withered before the ethnologists began their systematic collections of

documented artifacts" (p.221). Harrison added "metis beadwork and craftwork has often been classed as Indian, and their handmade furniture has usually been attributed to pioneers. Thus, much of what the metis produced has been buried in museum collections under other names or ignored altogether" (1985, p.14). If relatively few metis artifacts are correctly identified in the broad area of material culture, even fewer examples of dress are classified appropriately. Descriptions are limited in their detail and accuracy. Nicks (1985) added that "artifacts now attributed to 'Métis' need to be assessed on the basis of more specific provenienced data to relate them to their appropriate cultural context" (p.111). She cautioned researchers to avoid using a 'pan-Métis' approach by which Red River Métis material culture is attributed to other mixed blood populations throughout Canada. Very little is known regarding the factors influencing the dress choices of the metis; authors tend to cite the descent of the individual, but neglect to support their statements. Pannekoek (1987) stated that "a review of [the metis'] income and expenditure would suggest that they took considerable pride in their clothing" (p.20). Primary sources such as the Hudson's Bay archives need to be examined in order to assess the validity of statements like Pannekoek's, to provide additional resources for museum curators and for interpretive costuming.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to identify the factors influencing textile and dress purchases of the Red River Settlement's population, 1815 to 1835.

Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1) to determine what textile and dress items were purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Red River Settlers, 1815 to 1835.

2) to compare textiles and dress items purchased from the HBC post stores, 1815 to 1835 among different demographic factors.

3) to compare the dates of purchase of textile and dress items bought from the HBC post stores, 1815 to 1835.

4) to compare the percentage of textile and dress items purchased to the total amount of goods purchased from the HBC post store; to compare the percentage spent on textile and dress items to the total amount spent on goods purchased from the HBC post store.

5) to discuss the acquisition and production of goods in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835.

6) to provide a framework for future systematic studies, including studies of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) archives.

Operational Definitions

Acculturation	" Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149).
Artifact	"tangible things crafted, shaped, altered, and used across time and across space. Human made objects in social settings" (Broner, 1985).
Birthplace	A term used in the Red River Settlement censuses to indicate the country in which the settler was born. For example, "Canada" indicated both Upper and Lower Canada. Interestingly, the Orkney Islands were recognized in the census as a distinct country from Scotland.
Country-Born	"A term describing people of mixed descent born in the North-West" (Brown, 1980). "Used to designate those mixed bloods whose cultural ways were not of the Metis" (Foster, 1976). "Those children of [Hudson] Bay alliances who identified with their European descent" (Pannekoek, 1987).
Culture	"The learned and shared behaviour patterns characteristic of a group of people" (Oswalt, 1986, p. 25).

Dress	"An assemblage of objectively describable body modifications and supplements that are used by human beings, throughout the lifespan, as aids in establishing a subjective sense of identity and self, *for self*, and communicating aspects of this subjective identity to others" (Eicher and Roach-Higgins, 1989 p.10).
Dry Goods	For the purposes of this study, dry goods are defined as fabrics sold by the yard in the Hudson's Bay Company post store.
Ethnicity	"A set of descent based cultural identifiers used to assign persons to groupings that expand and contract in inverse relation to the scale of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the membership" Cohen, (1978, p.387).
Façon du pays	"In the fashion of the country". This term refers to the marriage practices of European traders and native women which combined traditions from both cultures.
Family Reconstitution	"the bringing together of scattered information about members of a family to enable its chief demographic characteristics to be described as fully as possible" (Ens, 1989, p.136).
Homeguard Cree	"Mixed blood progeny of Hudson Bay Company men and women who lived around the Bayside factories" (Pannekoek, 1987).
Marital Status	Whether the individual is considered to be single, married or 'à la façon du pays'.
metis	"a racial term for anyone of mixed Indian and European ancestry" (Metis National Council, 1984).
Metis	"a socio-cultural or political term for those originally of mixed ancestry who evolved into a distinct indigenous

	people during a certain historical period in a certain region in Canada" (Metis National Council, 1984).
Parish	Red River Settlement was composed of districts or parishes, each with its own religious affiliation.
Race	A term used by the Hudson's Bay Company in censuses to describe the ethnic group a settler belonged to. For example, European or metis
Ready Made	For the purposes of this study, Ready Made garments are defined as those which were imported by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Red River Settlement in an already constructed state.
Red River Settlement	Located at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, a settlement made up of several different parishes (see Appendix F).
Religion	For the purposes of this study, *religion* refers to those faiths recognized by the Hudson's Bay Company in their censuses ie. Roman Catholic, Protestant and others.
Textile	For the purpose of this study, textile refers to woven materials (eg. broadcloth) and non-woven materials (eg. animal hides).

Limitations

Clerks	The Hudson's Bay Company hired young men and trained them on the job. Unfamiliar with spellings, names were written down phonetically. This led to inconsistencies over the years in the spelling in both the ledgers and censuses of family names and store items.
Censuses	Census information is limited in its ability to represent accurately the French metis community as the census was conducted during a time of year when the majority of French metis were away on the buffalo hunt. In addition, recent deaths and young children were unreported.

Delimitations

Geographical	The study area is limited to the Red River Settlement (see appendix F for a map of the area).
Time Period	The study is limited to the years 1815 to 1835.
Sources	The study is limited by the availability of source material. The very nature of the sources has built in bias. For example historic sources are limited by their bias; authors or scribes of the period used ethnocentric perspectives.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A historical summary of the fur trade, metis social history, history of the Red River settlement, trade, costume history, and methods are discussed in this literature review.

Fur Trade History

A brief outline of fur trade history in the Canadian West prior to 1835 is necessary to understand how the dynamics of social and economic change altered the textile and dress needs of the metis. The history of the fur trade begins in Europe. In seventeenth-century Europe, fur trimmed garments were extremely popular clothing fashions. The demand for furs quickly exceeded the European supply and forced merchants to search for new resources. Tales of unlimited numbers of fur bearing animals lured fur traders to what is now known as the Canadian West. Grant (1988) stated that "the North American fur trade presupposed the rise to fashion of the felt hat in Europe" (p.37). This was the beginning of an adventure that spanned nearly two centuries. The fur trade began as a commercial pursuit, which eventually spawned a complex, interrelated social system.

The fur trade is credited with opening the West to European influence (Brown, 1980; Friesen, 1987; Innis, 1962). Friesen (1987) suggested that for 150 years, European interest in the West was limited to the fur trade. Van Kirk (1980) contended that the fur trade "dominated" Western development for over 200 years. As such, it becomes clear that the fur trade had a profound effect on the West. So great was the impact that it shaped the social structure and economic realities of the people it involved.

Two groups of traders, originally the Hudson's Bay Company and later the North West Company, competed against each other to gain access to the rich fur resources. In May of 1670, a royal charter of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into the Hudson's Bay (or the Hudson's Bay Company) gave the company absolute trading rights in Rupert's Land. However, French merchants, through their agents, had been trading in the Canadian West since the late seventeenth century. These traders provided fierce competition for the Hudson's Bay Company men. In 1759, the British conquest of Quebec temporarily ended this trade, but British-American traders soon re-organized the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes fur trade. This new, more intense competition

forced the Hudson's Bay Company traders to move westward in 1774. In 1783, a group composed of Highland Scots, Anglo-Americans and English formed a new company---the North West Company. Over the next 40 years the two companies fought bitterly to control trade in the western interior. Finally, in 1821 the two companies amalgamated under the elder company's name and the re-structured Hudson's Bay Company governed Rupert's Land until Canada's confederation. The merger of the two companies caused the displacement of many company employees. Fearing social biases, these men did not want to return to Britain or retire to Canada with their mixed blood families. As a result, many former company servants and their families migrated to Red River Settlement.

Social History of the Metis

Many historians (Giraud, 1945; Morton, 1939; Stanley, 1960) studied Western Canadian development and metis development from an economic perspective. Examinations of the fur trade within the context of social history was largely ignored. The effect of the fur trade on Western society must be analyzed to provide greater insight into the textile and dress purchases of the metis. Van Kirk suggested the fur trade "was not simply an economic activity, but a social and cultural complex that was to survive for nearly two centuries" (1980, p.2). Metis social history has been reviewed in recent research (Foster, 1972; Douaud, 1983; Dickason, 1982; Peterson, 1978, 1982; Spry, 1985). Peterson (1978) discussed the social history of the Great Lakes metis. When groups such as native, metis and European traders are exposed to each other for long periods of time change is inevitable. This change, referred to as "acculturation", was discussed by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936). It was defined as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). This definition can be applied to the development of the Red River Settlement metis; fur trade relationships spawned a new society heavily influenced by social change. Douaud (1983) supported this and speculated that the Canadian metis identity was the result of social evolution. According to Storm (1987) common adaptation patterns illustrate that "material objects such as dress are more quickly adapted than non-material ones such as values" (p.282).

It is necessary to define the factors which contributed to the change in native women's roles so that the dynamics of metis social history can be more fully understood. The most comprehensive analyses of the social history of women in the fur trade were done by Brown (1980) and Van Kirk (1980). Brown (1980) contended that structural

differences between fur trade companies affected the relations which developed between fur traders and their Indian and metis families. Van Kirk (1980) documented the evolution of Indian and metis women's position from an economic advantage during the early years of the fur trade to a social disadvantage by 1870. Van Kirk (1980) reported a rising need of metis daughters of fur trade company officers to meet European ideals by 1820. She stated that the increasing pressure by fur trade officer fathers, combined with growing racial prejudice caused by the arrival of white women, caused metis women to seek an "acculturated" European ideal. Friesen (1987) added that, at that time, "the institutions of European industrial capitalist society were taking root. New ideas such as race, respectability and progress were becoming current" (p.91). Fur traders encouraged these new social conventions (Van Kirk, 1980).

Brown (1980), Foster (1976), Harrison (1985), and Van Kirk (1980) concurred in their writings that early fur traders in Rupert's Land found the Indians receptive. So skilled were the natives in manipulating trade that Indian practices dominated the fur trade for many years. Indian trading alliances were based on kinship ties; for example, marrying into a band ensured a new economic bond. Fur traders, realizing this, formed liaisons with Indian women. European traders discovered these relationships were not only profitable, they also provided the necessary companionship and technology required to survive the harsh climate. Indian women's skills made a vital contribution to trade. In addition to their knowledge of "dressing furs", they served as interpreters and as "women-in-between". They became instructors for the traders of the Indian way of life. Alliances with fur traders were encouraged by Indian bands as these ties brought both prestige and security to an Indian family. As a result of these early fur trade relationships, the beginnings of a metis population emerged. The ensuing progeny formed the foundation of a new society: the *Metis* (Note capital M)[1]. Initially, these children were raised in their mother's cultural group and remained native. They were impervious to the acculturative influences of the European traders (Foster, 1976). Some authors stated that the English-speaking metis arose from the Hudson's Bay Company and the British officers of the North West Company and that the Metis were offspring of French traders from the St. Lawrence trading system.

---

[1] The Metis National Council, in 1984, defined *Metis* (capital M) as "a socio-cultural or political term for those originally of mixed ancestry who evolved into a distinct indigenous people during a certain historical period in a certain region of Canada" (Metis National Council,1984).

By the late eighteenth century, the economic environment in Rupert's Land had evolved to the point that trading networks were increasingly based on company marital affiliation. In addition, a change in marriage practices had occurred. As this first generation of fur trade offspring matured, mixed blood wives became increasingly popular. By the end of the eighteenth century, Indian wives were no longer fashionable choices among fur traders. The demand for an acculturated wife increased during this time frame and fur trade fathers anxious for their daughters to remain a part of fur trade society encouraged them to ignore their Indian roots and strive for a European ideal. Preference for an acculturated wife marked the initial decline of native women's utility in fur trade society. Contrasting sharply with their initial independence, acculturation rendered many mixed blood girls vulnerable and increasingly dependent on men for support. Like their European sisters, mixed blood women were taught to be "helpless". Van Kirk stated that "in reality, the more acculturated a mixed blood woman became, the more she lost that sphere of autonomy and purpose which native women had been able to maintain" (1980, p.242). The retirement move from the interior of Rupert's Land to Red River Settlement around 1820 marked a new phase in fur trade society. Women's participation in trade had decreased and they were increasingly relegated to a purely social position among the higher socio-economic classes. This shift in social status left them vulnerable to new changes experienced by the fur trade society. In 1820, George Simpson arrived in Rupert's Land. Brown suggested that "his personal influence on the fur trade was to be powerfully felt for the next forty years" (1980, p. xiv). Although he had formed alliances previously with mixed blood women, he returned to England to choose a wife. Simpson followed a Victorian ideal when choosing a non-native wife; she was to be pure and devout, beautiful, accomplished, and above all, dutiful. In 1830 he returned from a furlough with a young wife and became the first trader to import a non-native wife into the Red River Settlement. The arrival of Frances Simpson symbolized a new image of civility, morality and gentility in the Canadian West. Other traders followed Simpson's lead, until having a white wife became a necessary status symbol. For the mixed blood women, this had serious ramifications. Upwardly mobile men would no longer regard mixed blood women as suitable marriage material. Mixed blood society had evolved to regard marriage to non-native men as a necessity to maintain social position. The arrival of middle-class Victorian non-native women to Red River Settlement introduced a racial negativism towards mixed blood daughters that characterized the latter period of the fur trade.

The desire of English mixed blood wives to remain in a functioning, vital role within an increasingly white-oriented society in Red River Settlement was unsuccessful. Their social and economic contributions were increasingly less important than in the previous century. As Foster (1976) concluded, "under the influence of the institutions of a British and Protestant community the Country-born completed the cultural transformation that began generations earlier on the shores of the Hudson's Bay" (p.79).

Red River Settlement

The Red River Settlement was founded as a colony by Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk for his economically impoverished highland crofters (Friesen, 1987). In 1811, the Earl negotiated an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company. Selkirk was granted 116,000 square feet of land at the forks of the Red River and the Assiniboine River (what is now Winnipeg, Manitoba). This area was known as Assiniboia or the Red River Colony and was composed of a number of parishes. In addition to the land granted, the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to provide free transportation and equipment for the settlers, to give the colony's governor a commission, and, for disciplinary purposes, to enroll the settlers as company servants. In return, Selkirk promised to provide the company with two hundred servants a year, to permit the Hudson's Bay Company to set up trading posts in the colony, to forbid the settlers to participate in the fur trade, and to be an agricultural based retirement community for the company's servants and their families. Friesen (1987) believed this was an important determining factor in the approval of Selkirk's grant, "by providing a home for retired servants and their Indian and metis wives....a whole new generation of young traders might be created, thereby laying to rest the company's problems in labour recruitment" (p.72). Sprenger (1972) attributed the formation of the Red River Settlement to an expansionist plan on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Friesen (1987) stated that Red River Settlement's site was both an advantage and a disadvantage to the settlers. Agriculturally, it was an extremely fertile site; unfortunately, it also blocked an economically important North West Company fur trade route. The initial years of the settlement's existence were plagued by many hardships. The severe winters, food shortages, poor crops (despite the agricultural fertility), and fear of North West Company traders, Indians, and Metis hampered the morale of the settlers. Fur trade competition had increased to such a fierce level in the first two

decades of the nineteenth century that it had a direct impact on the Red River settlers. The two companies fought for control of the land and the North West Company incited the Indian and Metis populations. Many struggles broke out including the battle at Seven Oaks. Finally, in 1821 the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company merged and the Red River Settlement became "a stable flourishing community in the 1820's and 1830's" (Friesen, 1987, p.89). In part, this stability may have been a result of the new acculturative forces within the Red River Settlement. Brown (1980) reported that "by the 1820's, the infant settlement was attracting not only the Scottish farmers and Hudson's Bay company traders' native families for whom it was originally intended, but also missionaries who made it their headquarters" (p. xiv). She added that European women's interest in "civilizing" Red River Settlement lent support to Christianity and its missionaries. Williams (1983) concurred with Brown's point and noted the aim of the Church Missionary Society was the education and "assimilation of the pupil to English ways, and a denial of their indigenous heritage" (p.72).

The Red River Settlement's population was diverse. Williams (1983) described it as an "ethnically complex community" (p.77). Ens stated "Red River in the 1830's represented an amalgam of small, largely metis, peasant communities of varying ethnic and religious orientations" (1990, p.74). Friesen (1987) reported that in 1821 there were 400 settlers; half of the settlers were Scottish, a third were French-speaking Canadians and a few were German and Swiss immigrants (Friesen, 1987). Friesen neglected, however, to estimate the number of metis in the population. Sprenger (1972) estimated Red River Settlement's population in 1850 as 5000, split into 2500 Metis, 1800 English mixed bloods and about 300 Kildonan Scots. He concluded that the Metis were primarily buffalo hunters, fishermen, trappers, small scale agrarians and wage labourers for the Hudson's Bay Company. In contrast, Friesen stated that, by the 1840's, the metis population had increased to the point that the French-speaking and the English-speaking metis numbered about 6000, split equally between the two language groups (1987, p.90). Brown (1987) stated that "Red River's overwhelmingly mixed-descent population continued to reflect its dual origins: Montreal, the Great Lakes and Prairies, and the North West Company; and Great Britain, the Orkney Islands (a major Hudson's Bay Company recruiting ground), and Rupert's Land" (pp.140-141). Spry (1985), however, argued there was solidarity because of the large amount of intermarriages, business connections, participation in the buffalo hunt, Hudson Bay Company transport brigades and Louis Riel. This is in contrast to Pannakoek's (1976) theory of a population split between Roman Catholic francophones and the Protestant

anglophone "country born". Spry (1985) separated Red River Settlement into two fundamental divisions. The first was based on social standing. It divided the population between the well educated and well-to-do gentry, the officers and retired officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, their progeny who had achieved respectability, the clergy, the prosperous merchants and the mass of unlettered, unpropertied natives of the country or the engages of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the Nor'Westers before them and their descendants. The second fundamental division was the contrast between the professional farmer and the plains trader. Spry asserted that a conflict existed between those with ambition, affluence, education, and social status and those who were poverty stricken and of inferior status. Williams (1983) separated the Red River metis into the "English speaking mixed bloods from the old Hudson's Bay Company areas [who] remained distinct from the French speaking Metis formerly associated with the North West Company" (pp. 72-73). Ens (1989) argued that "social and economic divisions became more distinct in the 1850's and the 1860's" (p. v). He split the community between a metis bourgeoisie or merchant class and a metis labouring class. Foster (1990, personal communications) suggested a new theory for the Red River Settlement population. He proposed that the metis population could be divided even further along socio-economic lines. The first group of mixed bloods, the *M*etis included old merchants and hunters and their extended families who before 1840 were the dominant buffalo robe traders. The second division was those *M*etis who worked the York boats and were not settled in Indian settlements although they did have kinship ties to these areas. This was the group where Riel would find support in the resistance of 1869-70. Foster referred to this group as "House Indians". The third *m*etis group consisted of the sons of officers and skilled labourers who formed the private merchant class and the final division was the *m*etis from the Bay tradition who, before 1820, were known as "House Indians" or "Hudson's Bay English", but who, in later years, identified themselves as British and Protestant. Each of these groups brought their own dress and textile traditions with them to Red River Settlement.

It is critical to point out that a distinct fur trade society had largely disappeared in the Red River Settlement by 1870. Social pressures and economic realities had combined to the point that the traditional fur trade family structure could no longer survive in Red River Settlement. Ens (1989) suggested that the economic advantages of the buffalo hunt "pulled" the metis population from Red River causing the parishes "to lose their wholeness and integrity after 1870" (p.138).

Acquisition of Goods in Red River Settlement

To determine what textile and dress items were available in Red River Settlement, alternate textile and dress sources to the Hudson's Bay Company are discussed in the following section. Trade between Europeans and Indians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is well documented; however the arrival of European fur traders to the Canadian West was not the initiating factor in the fur trade. The Indians of North America, specifically those of the great plains, already enjoyed a highly developed, complex trading system. Stepney and Goa (1990) stated "there was to be sure, an ancient and well-established pre- European trading network in many places" (p.79). Brown (1986) showed evidence of reciprocal relations in trade, "these people [the Algonquians] were also traders, being the northern neighbours of the corn-growing Huron who were glad, in turn, to exchange their agricultural surpluses for the Algonquian furs" (p. 215). Trenton and Houlihan (1989) stated that "a healthy trading relationship existed between the predominantly agricultural tribes and the buffalo-hunting tribes" (p.79). Littlefield (1980), in her discussion of the economic role of Carrier women in British Columbia, noted their eagerness to trade with Europeans and concluded that trade was a part of their traditional societal role before non-natives arrived. Cyr (1978) stated that "Indians preferred European goods and considered them far superior to goods of their own handiwork, they discarded traditional items and adopted those obtained from the trader, thus creating a dependency on European goods and established a way of life to acquire those goods" (p.11). Ray (1988) negated the popular misconception that the Indians were taken advantage of by shrewd European traders and added that Indians experienced a period of adjustment when confronted with European trade goods; their adoption was not an instantaneous occurrence. He contended that the Indians were already extremely competent in trade negotiations. It is evident that there was active trade between native societies prior to the arrival of non-natives. Blakeslee (1975), in his examination of the plains interband trade system, reported the most common manufactured item traded was clothing. Ewers (1954), however, claimed that trade in European goods changed over time from inter-tribal trade to trade between natives and non-natives across the plains. Thus, it becomes apparent that trade between natives and non-natives was a well established feature of the Canadian West during the fur trade era.

These trading networks helped the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. Goods, primarily British-made and produced during the

formative years of the industrial revolution, were imported annually from London. Ross suggested that "of all the commodities imported by the Hudson's Bay Company, fabrics and clothing were the most common and valuable" (1976, p.570). Foster (1972) noted that an economic problem facing the country-born was the acquisition of clothing. There was very little produced in the settlement in the early decades of its existence and materials had to be purchased through the Hudson's Bay Company stores or through the area's private merchants. In order to do this, the settler had to have credit with the company or be able to barter. Ens (1989) noted that the metis were involved with the wage labour system of the Hudson's Bay company and were hired for a specific period of time, usually a boat trip or cart brigade trip. For this, the Hudson's Bay Company gave the metis credit which could be spent in the post stores. Foster (1972) suggested that these trips may have been necessary for the metis in order to clothe themselves and their families. Often, the credit earned on these trips was spent in the York Factory post store. St. Onge (1985) maintained that the metis became dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company "to sustain a transformation in material culture" (p.155). Goldring (1970) remarked that during the 1840's the parishes of St. Andrew's, St. Clement's and St. Peter's relied on the post store at Lower Fort Garry for their supplies of imported goods and as a market for their excess farm produce. John MacLean, a Hudson's Bay Company employee, observed, "the company have here two shops (or stores) well supplied with every description of goods the inhabitants require; there are besides several merchants scattered through the settlement, some of whom are said to be in easy circumstances. The company's bill constituted the circulating medium" (Wallace, 1932, p.380). Williams (1983) suggested that "trade goods of the 1850's reflect[ed] an interest in fashion and the home" (p.76). Robinson in 1879 (cited in Smith, 1963) noted that

> the principal articles of trade are tea, sugar, calico, blankets, ammunition, fishing gear, and a kind of clothing, very thick and resembling blanketing, called duffle... here, too, may be purchased the latest styles to wear upon Cheapside and Regent's Park --- kid gloves at fabulously low prices; made-up silks, Parisian bonnets, delicate footgear, etc.,(p.1).

In 1817 Lord Selkirk had proposed a mutually beneficial trade system that would involve a trade route between the American settlements in the Missouri and Illinois territories and Red River Settlement (Gilman, Gilman & Stultz, 1979). He suggested that the "traffic, tho' it might be of small account at first, would increase with the progress of our settlements, creating a growing demand for many articles of American

Produce" (Lord Selkirk in Pritchett, 1936, p. 418). This plan, although unsuccessful when initially proposed, established itself in later years. Selkirk's early suggestion was an accurate prophecy of the market potential as these routes spawned the buffalo robe trade and ultimately the free trade movement in the Red River Settlement. Frank Mayer, an artist in Minnesota, reported that "until within a few years [the Pembina Métis] have been entirely dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company for their supplies and trade, but of late have directed their attention to the settlements [in Minnesota] and have found it greatly to their advantage to do so" (cited in Brasser, 1975, p.57). Buffalo robes, pemmican, furs, and embroidered leather goods were sold or traded at St. Paul. Yearly treks to Pembina to trade buffalo robes resulted in "groceries, tobacco, liquor, dry goods, ammunition and farm implements" being brought back to the settlement (Harrison, 1985, p.35).

The Hudson's Bay Company post store was evidently the primary source for goods between 1815 and 1835. In later years, the buffalo trade route created an alternate source for goods, but until that point an analysis of the store's ledgers will provide a fairly accurate portrayal of textile and dress items used in the Red River Settlement.

Costume History

Non-Native Dress

Few studies have focused on non-native dress in the specific region of Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835. Taylor (1990) completed a nation-wide analysis of fabrics in women's costumes, 1860-1880. The study, however, did not discuss the particular area of Red River Settlement. Non-native dress worn during this period followed the European fashions from London and Paris (Royal Ontario Museum, 1967). Holford (1984a, 1984b) studied the dress of Upper Canada (what is now Ontario). She concluded that "in the early 19th century relatively few people were able to wear the latest fashions. There was almost always a time lag between the launching of a new mode by the haute monde and its adoption by the middle and working classes" (1984a, p.41). Holford cited geographic isolation, occupations, convictions and economic restrictions as factors influencing Upper Canada's dress. She also suggested that settlers who could afford to, brought two to three years' supply of clothing with them (1984b). The Royal Ontario Museum added that "besides the clothes brought out, many were ordered from the homeland or sent out by members of the family" (ROM, 1967, p.vi). Holford stated that in those districts in Upper Canada settled by Highland Scots homespun and woven

garments were made because these immigrants were already trained as weavers. ROM (1967) described clothing altered many times to keep it fashionable. However, in rural North America supplies and skills were limited. ROM (1967) described the "sturdy garments of linen and wool prepared, spun and woven, and made up in the home for both men and women and often remarked on by travellers to Canada" (p. vi). The situation may have been similar in the Red River Settlement, the upper classes ordering their clothing from Britain through the Hudson's Bay Company and the lower classes making their own clothing

Stewart (1987) researched dress for Lower Fort Garry, a Hudson's Bay post. She concluded that upper class ladies, such as the governor's wife, brought large fashionable wardrobes with them. Stewart suggested that metis women of "suitable status" [those married to company officers] tried to appear European in all aspects of dress and that lower class metis attempted this emulation to a lesser degree. It should be noted that, for the most part, women's clothing depended on their socio-economic class; the higher classes could afford to wear the latest fashions and the lower classes adopted a style more practical than fashionable. As in Canada, fashions in Britain revealed the stratification of the society. Although women's fashions in many cases originated in Europe, not all women were able to afford them. The upper classes could follow and keep up with changes in dress style, while lower class or working women wore "simplified fashionable styles usually just after they had gone out of fashion" (Lansdell, 1977, p.8) or clothing handed down from employers (Ewing, 1984; Lansdell, 1977). Second-hand markets for clothing thrived in Britain during the nineteenth century as the middle and lower classes frequented them (Ewing, 1984; Tozer & Levitt, 1983). Little is known, however, about these simpler styles of dress because of the relative scarcity of extant artifacts (Tozer & Levitt, 1983). Most studies have focused on fashionable dress but neglected every-day dress or occupational dress (Ewing, 1984).

Metis dress

Harrison (1985) stated that research of metis dress was limited primarily to the documentation included in museum collection catalogues. Stewart (1989, personal communication) also suggested that metis costume research was extremely scarce. This is the result of material culture research being conducted primarily by anthropologists who only briefly discuss dress or ornamentation or instead, analyze these from a theoretical perspective. Duncan (1982) attributed this lack of discussion to the rarity of written works "which include more than a brief reference to the arts of the groups

involved" (p.2). In the limited information published, Harrison (1985) noted that the metis dress reflected their mixed ancestry; some wore European clothes, other metis wore Indian style garments, and still others combined the two to create a distinctive metis style. Carter (1986) described metis women's craftwork and garment decoration as reflecting both their European and native heritage. Duncan (1982) examined the bead embroidery of the Athapaskans and the Northern metis groups from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Gilman, Gilman and Stultz (1979) said that the garments were "notable mainly for [their] variety" (p.14). St. Onge (1985) claimed that men were recognizable as metis largely because of the British manufactured goods they wore.

In 1780, Indian women of the Northern Ojibway peoples (North of Lake Superior) started to make an increasing amount of skin clothing for use in the fur trade. Chiefs and successful hunters, however, preferred to wear the red cloth and lace decorated coats presented to them by Company Chief Factors. By the 1800's, painted skin coats, particularly from Red River Settlement, were tailored in the same fashion as these cloth coats Floral patterns were increasingly frequent design motifs. By 1820, painting on skin rapidly disappeared and the motifs were applied to quillwork (Brasser, 1975). Pannekoek (1987) reported that metis men wore blue capots with brass buttons, red and black flannel shirts, leather moccasins, assumption sashes and brown homespun trousers. Women, he said, "dress more conservatively in a dark shirt or dress, moccasins and a shawl to cover the head" (p.20). The large quantities of cloth and decorative trims imported to Albany caused Van Kirk (1980) to conclude that the officers "were particularly anxious to have the females in their family adopt English Fashions" (p.99). O' Meara (1968) claimed that new Indian wives were sometimes provided with the clothing of a fashionable white lady of the day. These native women, in turn, brought this influence to family and Indian friends in home territory. Van Kirk supported this idea and later stated that "while the women of fur trade officers dressed increasingly in the English style, in general, mixed-blood women evolved a more practical costume" (p.101). Van Kirk pointed to the paintings of Peter Rindisbacher, a Swiss Colonist, as examples of this practical "Canadian Fashion".

Peterson (1982), in her analysis of the Great Lakes metis reported that this group had few status distinctions. All residents drew upon a common subsistence base which included clothing locally "manufactured to suit Indian tastes" (p.41). At Fort Vancouver "finished clothing was in high demand among the native and Euro-american populations within the Columbia department, and to meet this demand the Company both

imported large quantities of ready made articles and encouraged the local production of 'country-made' articles" (Ross, 1976, p.585). He claimed that, at Fort Vancouver, the most popular items of dress were capots, shirts, shoes, trousers and vests. Blanketing, cotton, duffle and strouding were the most popular textiles, "blankets and capots were commonly traded to the native populations, while cotton and shoes were commonly sold to Euro-american settlers" (Ross, 1976, p.147).

According to Mrs. Cowan's remembrances of Red River Settlement (cited in Healy, 1923, p.42), a European appearance was preferred in Red River by acculturated metis women. Mrs. Cowan recalled the insistence of Caroline Pruden (a metis woman of high social standing in Red River) that she wear a hoopskirt when appearing in public. Dempsey (1985) stated that many women in Red River settlement were wearing the most modern styles from Paris and London. Ens (1989, personal communications) refuted this as a sweeping statement that does not consider the French metis. He suggested that Red River Settlement can be divided along social lines: a) the acculturated English mixed bloods wearing European style clothing and b) the French metis who still wore traditional Indian type clothing. Daignault observed that within St Francois Xavier (a parish in Red River Settlement) there were divisions along socio-economic and geographic lines; the "Purs" who retained their traditional cultural practices, and the metis who were involved in the buffalo-hunt as merchant traders and were identified as living in "Petit Canada". The "Purs" were "Un bon nombre de familles métisses qui avaient conservé intactes les coutumes primitives de leur ancêtres maternals. Les femmes portent châles et moccassins et parlent plutôt le Cri (Daignault, 1945, p.28)[2]. By contrast metis living in Petit Canada "[qui] affectait d'imiter les Canadiens Français dans leur coutumes et leur vêtements. Les femmes portant chapeaux et chaussures françaises" (Daignault, 1945, p.28)[3]. Additional, extensive research is required to establish the factors that affected metis dress. While the importance of the fur trade, the history of Red River Settlement, and metis social history have been examined and well documented, little work has been done to examine and document the ledgers of the Hudson Bay Company. This type of analysis may well establish and define the dress of the Red River Settlement's population, both European and metis.

---

2 " A good number of metis families kept the traditional customs of their maternal ancestors intact. They carried shawls and moccasins and spoke mostly Cree."

3 " who tried to imitate the French Canadians in their customs and their clothing. The women wearing hats and french shoes".

Methods

Historical Approaches to the Study of Ethnic Groups

According to Touliatos and Compton "historical research is concerned with recreating the past" (1988, p.297). Reitzel and Lindemann stated that the aims of historians were "to produce systematic, reliable statements that either increase the available pool of knowledge about a given topic or bring existing knowledge into a more precise focus by means of new interpretive patterns." (1982, p.169). Nine recent clothing and textile studies employed a historical approach to the study of ethnic groups. Schweger (1983) studied archival documents to develop a coding system for selected artifacts. More recent work focusing on clothing has examined Indian and Inuit costume. Miller (1979) looked at sexual differentiation and acculturation among the Potawatomi to determine changes and influences to their native dress. Cyr (1978) surveyed dress and adornment worn by the Chippewa (Ojibwa) Indians to assess changes in dress and the related cultural influences. Clayton-Gouthro (1987), in her analysis of Janvier Band Chipewayan moccasins, documented their historical significance and modern styles. Pannabecker (1986) surveyed numerous archival sources for linguistic evidence of ribbon use among the Great Lakes Indians. McBride (1988) looked at the Inuit Amautik and its historic importance to its wearers. Oakes (1987) studied factors influencing Kamik production in Arctic Bay, N.W.T. In 1988, Oakes researched historical and modern skin clothing production techniques employed by the Copper and Caribou Inuit. Historical approaches to the study of clothing and textiles work well. However, there are inherent problems involved with this type of research. Touliatos and Compton (1988) outlined the limitations: 1) there is a difficulty in obtaining primary, personal documents, 2) there is no control over the quality or amount of data, 3) if there is a lack of evidence, more cannot be generated, and 4) there is a relative scarcity of conclusive evidence. One of the basic rules in historic research is to utilize primary sources when available. Primary sources include "mechanically reproduced records of past events" Touliatos and Compton (1988, p.299). Analysis of documents such as archival material is the primary method used in the majority of historical research.

Archival Material

Archival material is an excellent source of data for historic research. Brown (1980), a social historian, used archival records as a primary source of data. In her

study of the fur trade and its effect on Western Canadian social history, Brown cited the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, personal records, wills, journals, missionary and parish censuses, and half breed scrip records as primary sources for her research. She noted that the fur trade post's "literacy thus became a vehicle for maintaining the community and now aids the study of it" (p.xii). Van Kirk (1980) used archival records to support her theories on the role of women in the fur trade. Johnstone (1982) used archival sources to document the development of the Red River Settlement. Ens (1989) consulted the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, federal and provincial archives in his statistical analysis of economic forces and their effect on metis identity, ethnic differentiation and class divisions in the Red River Settlement. Through the use of demographic information, he stated that archival records "are the building blocks, which when put together, reveal the demographic structure of the past, and allow this structure to be related to many aspects of economic and social life" (p.277). Hayes (1986) cited church records, metis land scrip, Charles D. Denney papers (Denney was the founding father of the Alberta genealogical society), the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, federal and provincial archives as valuable primary sources for the study of metis family history.

Anawalt (1975) examined Pan-mesoamerican costume at the time of Spanish contact and used writings of the time period as evidence for her theses. Sixteenth century administrative reports (eg. Relaciones Geograficas) and first hand accounts of the conquest and missionaries' journals provided Anawalt with primary sources. Culley (1977), discussed the structural and cultural components of Southwestern Pueblo weaving and described the cultural and economic consequences that European contact brought to the area. She cited the journals of Bandilier and de Espejo as sources to support her conclusions. Roy (1990) used printed primary sources such as trade journals, a union newspaper, bills of prices and instructional manuals produced by the tailoring trade (1800-1920) to describe changes that occurred in the trade during that time. The data collected from archival material must be analyzed in a way which is both valid and reliable. A method of data investigation, *Content Analysis* of archival documents is the primary quantitative analysis technique used in the study of historic costume.

Content Analysis.

Content Analysis is defined as "any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages"

(Holsti, 1968, p.601). Content analysis is used in the analysis of archival sources such as post ledgers. According to Kassarjian (1977) the most important aspect of content analysis is that it be objective, systematic, and quantitative. In using a content analysis approach, researchers must be aware of problems with reliability and validity. To increase reliability and validity, categories and definitions must be stated clearly. Paoletti (1982) stated that there were five steps common to all researchers employing a content analysis approach: "1) articulation of precisely-stated objectives or hypotheses; 2) creation of an instrument or questionnaire designed to measure relevant variables or sort them into predetermined categories; 3) unbiased sampling of sources and communication units; 4) systematic recording or measuring of variables using the instrument; and, 5) analysis of the data using appropriate statistical procedures" (Paoletti, 1982).

Content analysis tools have been used for clothing and textiles research in several recent studies. Paoletti (1980) surveyed cartoons in selected fashion magazines to determine the popular humour regarding masculine dress. Kerkhoven (1986) looked at prize lists for textile crafts from agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Smith (1987) examined newspaper advertisements supplemented by archival records to draw conclusions on dressmaking occupations in Edmonton, 1900-1930. Taylor (1990) used content analysis to identify fabrics in women's costumes, 1860 to 1880, from Canadian museums and then compared these to fabrics depicted in the fashion periodicals of the time. Smith (1991) used content analysis to compare children's clothing in the Eaton's catalogue to clothing found in selected Canadian Museums, 1890 to 1920.

METHODS

Introduction

This section describes the methods which were used in collecting data . Two separate sources of data, both from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, were consulted. The first source of data was the Hudson's Bay Company Settlers' and Servants' Accounts Ledgers in Red River Settlement. Red River Settlement Censuses provided the second source. The years investigated were 1815, 1824, 1830 and 1835. Data was taken for 308 families from the ledgers and 161 families from the Red River Census. A statistical analysis was performed on these data and supplemented with personal accounts of clothing usage in the time period.

Framework

The framework for this study was adapted from Ens' (1989) study of "Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and the Red River Metis". Ens was interested in the role "of economic forces in the evolution of metis identity, ethnic differentiation, and class divisions of the Red River Settlement" (p.iv). He used family reconstitution to establish the demography of the Red River Settlement. A similar method was used in this study to compare purchase information to census information. Alternately stated, demographic information was reconstituted from the purchaser's name. The first step undertaken in this study was to make a preliminary research trip to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg to determine the availability of ledgers and censuses between the years between 1815 and 1870. Based on the availability of complete textile and dress descriptions in the ledgers[1] and the years in which censuses were conducted, the study was narrowed to encompass the years 1815, 1824, 1830, and 1835. The rationale for

---

[1] A problem which developed in the course of conducting research was the change in the accounting system of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1835. Previous to this date, goods were supplied from the Company on a credit basis, in 1835 a cash or "ready money" system was introduced. The effect on the Hudson's Bay Company account book recording system was that instead of a detailed, itemized list of items bought, debits were listed under a general heading "goods purchased". As a result, the study was limited in its range to analyzing the years 1815, 1824, 1830, and 1835. This has been a limitation for other researchers. Gosman (1977) remarked that as the HBC did not itemize accounts at the Forks, it was virtually impossible to know exactly the types of goods that individuals purchased. His solution to this problem was to utilize account books from areas away from the Red River Settlement.

using a quantitative rather than a qualitative analysis was expressed by Ray, "inductive analysis provides an empirical basis for explaining the economic characteristics of the trading system" (1988, p.79).

Sources

The study examined post ledgers and censuses from Red River Settlement between 1815 and 1835. These documents are available through the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Manitoba. Ledgers were kept by year at each provisioning post and contain the following information: a) the settler's name, b) the date, c) the quantity of the item purchased, d) the item's name or description, e) a unit price, and f) the price along with a final balance. Censuses were initiated by Lord Selkirk's agents as a way to keep records of the settlement. By 1824, the Hudson's Bay Company had begun similar enumerations. Censuses were taken at fairly regular intervals. The years 1824, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1849 were complete and an incomplete census existed for 1856 [2]. No complete census was undertaken after this year until 1870. Although limited in the fact that enumerations only represented families and not individuals the censuses did indicate the following: a) the family name (only the male head of family was listed unless he had died in which case his widow was named), b) country of birth, c) religion, d) birth date, e) total family size, f) male children over and under 16, g) female children over and under 15, h) number of cultivated acres, buildings, and livestock. The census did not indicate the parish of residence, but today it is possible to trace this through the lot number.

Data Collection

The years used were 1815, 1824, 1830, and 1835. The years 1824, 1830, and 1835 were chosen for Census and Ledger completeness. Information from the 1824 census was used to trace back to 1815. The year was included for its ability to illustrate temporal changes over a twenty year time period in purchases from the Hudson's Bay Company post store in Red River Settlement. Due to the nature of the sources, it was impossible to do a random sample. Ledger and census data were collected according to previously developed coding rules and were recorded on previously tested coding sheets (see Appendices A, B, D, and E). Data from the post ledgers were recorded by family

---

[2] The 1824 census is not referenced as a "Census Return" in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Instead it is entitled "Red River Settlement-Index to Plan by William Kempt".

name and assigned an identification number. Items purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store were recorded using the term stated in the ledgers (ie. cotton figured handkerchief, blue). These terms were compiled and form appendix C. The quantity and price of each item were recorded. In addition, the total number of goods purchased and the total amount spent was entered. If the settler did not purchase any textile or dress items, the settler was omitted from the study. The unit of analysis was the textile or dress term identified in the post ledgers. After the data were collected, the terms were grouped into categories. (see Appendix H). From the ledger data, the settler's name was cross-referenced with the census of the same year. The family's demographic structure was then recorded onto coding sheets and assigned a corresponding identification number. It should be noted that not all names from the ledgers could be matched to census information. Data were taken for 308 families, but only 161 of these could be matched to census records. This occurred for many reasons; 1) not all the post stores customers were residents of Red River settlement, 2) they were not present at the time of the census, or 3) because of an oversight by the census taker.

Statistical Analysis

The textile and dress purchases were statistically analyzed with the aid of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences^{X} (SPSS^{X}). Variables for both census information and post ledgers were coded by assigning values to each variable. Each set of variables was entered into two separate data files, a ledger data file and a census data file. Coding rules and coding sheets were developed for both census data and ledger data (see Appendices A, B, D, and E). Missing variables were assigned a missing value.

The data were analyzed with the four years combined and then analyzed again with the data sorted into the four years (1815, 1824, 1830, and 1835). Statistical analyses were performed to meet the first four objectives outlined in the introduction of this study. Within the ledger data file, frequency distributions were calculated for the independent variables *ITEM* (weighted by *Price* [3]) and *DATE*. The percentage of textile and dress items bought and the percentage spent on textile and dress items was calculated for each family. Frequency distributions were calculated also for the variable *PSPNT*

---

3 Weighting is a function within Spssx that assigns a value to a variable, in this case *Item*, and ranks it from the lowest value to the highest value. Each item was weighted by the Hudson's Bay Company's price rather than by its unit; this established its relative value. For example, *one* button is low in value and *one* yard of silk is high in value.

(Percentage spent on textile and dress items) and *PTEX* (Percentage of textile and dress items bought). These figures were calculated in the following manner:

PSPNT and *PTEX* were calculated for each settler with the following formulas:

$$PSPNT = \frac{\text{Sum of Textile and Dress Item Prices}}{\text{Total Amount spent in Post Store}}$$

$$PTEX = \frac{\text{Total Number of Textile and Dress Items}}{\text{Total Number of Items Purchased}}$$

Cross-tabulations assist in identifying associations between variables. Crosstabs were used to determine if specific purchases were made by settlers with certain demographic characteristics. Grouped textile and dress categories (see Appendix H) were compared to the *parish of residence, place of birth, race and religion* (*TYPE*) and *age*. Following this analysis, the textile and dress items were ungrouped, and crosstabs were run using the same demographic information.

Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient (Pearson's r) is a secondary step to cross-tabulations. If cross tabs identify associations between variables, Pearson's r measures the strength of the relationship. Correlations may be positive or negative. According to Touliatos and Compton (1988) a high correlation measures between 0.7 and greater, a moderate correlation measures 0.4 to 0.7, low relationships fall between 0.2 and 0.4. Below these ranges the correlation or relationship is negligible. Following these guidelines, Pearson's r was run to determine the strength of the relationships between the following variables: *PTEX* (Percentage of textile and dress items bought) and *BUYPOW*[4](cultivated acreage + buildings + total livestock + boats); and *PSPNT* (Percentage spent on textile and dress items) and *BUYPOW*.

Qualitative Analysis

Statistical findings were supplemented with personal accounts of clothing usage in the time period. Authors writing in the time period were selected on the basis of their residence in Red River Settlement, their involvement with the fur trade or for their discussions of dress in the years 1815 to 1835. This placed the clothing or textiles in a historical context.

---

[4] The variable BUYPOW was determined by adding the numerical values of the variables Cultivated Acreage, Buildings, Total livestock and Boats.

RESULTS and DISCUSSION

This chapter includes the results and discussion of the study. The years investigated in this study included 1815, 1824, 1830 and 1835. Data were taken for 308 families from the ledgers and yielded a total of 3884 dress or textile items purchased: 978 from 1815, 1224 from 1824, 877 from 1830, and 805 from 1835. From the Red River Census, data for 161 families were available and were analyzed; 24 from 1815, 40 from 1824, 21 from 1830, and 76 from 1835. The factors influencing store purchases are outlined in the first section, followed by two subsections, *Woolen Dry Goods* and *Men's Ready Made* which examine more closely these categories. The second part of this chapter looks at temporal variations in the purchases of textile and dress items. The third section assesses textile and dress items as a percentage of the total amounts spent in the post store. The final section outlines the acquisition and production of textile and dress goods in Red River Settlement.

Factors Influencing Post Store Purchases

This section discusses textile and dress items bought in Red River Settlement and the factors influencing these purchases. Statistical findings are supplemented with personal accounts of clothing usage in the time period. Textile and dress items are placed in their historical context. The first objective was to determine what textile and dress items were purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Red River Settlers, 1815 to 1835. The second objective was to compare textile and dress items purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company post stores, 1815 to 1835 among different demographic factors. These two objectives of the study have been combined into one section. It was easier to describe what was purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store and then link these purchases to demographic data. Redundancies are avoided as categories and items are discussed only once.

Textile and dress items purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company ledgers, 1815 to 1835, were identified from Red River Settlement ledger data. Items were recorded in the SPSS^{X} ledger data file and the results are included in appendix C. There were 217 separate textile and dress items imported to the Hudson's Bay Company Store. For statistical analysis, each item's price was used rather than its unit (ie. yards). For ease of analysis, textile and dress items were grouped together. Grouped categories include *Woolen Dry Goods; Cotton Dry Goods*; *Men's, Women's and Children's Ready Made*; *Men's, Women's and Children's Accessories*; and *Point Blankets* (for a complete listing of

categories, see appendix H). Variables from the ledger file and variables from the census file were compared using crosstabs. The ledger data variables included the description of the item, its price, the quantity bought, and the total amount spent. Census data provided the variables *Race*, *Religion*, *Family Size*, *Country of Birth*, *Parish of Residence*, *Acres of Cultivated Land*, *Number of Boats Owned*, and *Age*. The variables *Race* and *Religion* were grouped into a new variable *TYPE* (Catholic and European; Catholic and Metis; Protestant and European; Protestant and Metis; European and Other) to identify preferences for items among these groups. A partial glossary is included (appendix G) to define uncommon textile and dress terms used by the Hudson's Bay Company. The following section discusses the variations among and uses of textile and dress items purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, 1815 to 1835.

This section describes changes in purchases over the four selected years within the twenty year time period surveyed. The distribution of grouped textile and dress items[1] is shown in Figure 1. There were a possible 217 items available for purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company store (see appendix C). In 1815, 95 separate items were purchased (n=762)[2]. In grouped categories, *Woolen Dry Goods* were the most frequently purchased (24.7%), followed by *Men's Ready Made* (17.4%). In 1824, 162 separate textile and dress items (n=754) were purchased. *Woolen Dry Goods* was again the category with the highest frequency (27.4%); *Men's Ready Made* items accounted for 26.6% of these purchases. In the year 1830, 211 separate dress and textile items were purchased (n=568). *Woolen Dry Goods* dropped to second position with the category constituting only 22.9% of the post store's sales. *Men's Ready Made* rose to comprise 31.2%, the only year in which this category ranked first. During 1835, 118 separate textile and dress items were purchased (n=408). *Woolen Dry Goods* comprised 23.9% of the total purchases. *Men's Ready Made* purchases dropped to 7.5%, the fourth highest category and *Cotton Dry Goods* took third position (11.4%). The drop in this category may suggest that a new source for goods was available in the settlement. That is, people were buying from outlets other than the Hudson's Bay Company. *Children's Accessories*, a category which in the previous three years was of minimal importance increased and was the second highest frequency (22.6%).

---

[1] *Item* refers to each separate available dress or textile good. *Category* refers to these items in their grouped format (see Apprndix H).

[2] n refers to the total number of separate items purchased.

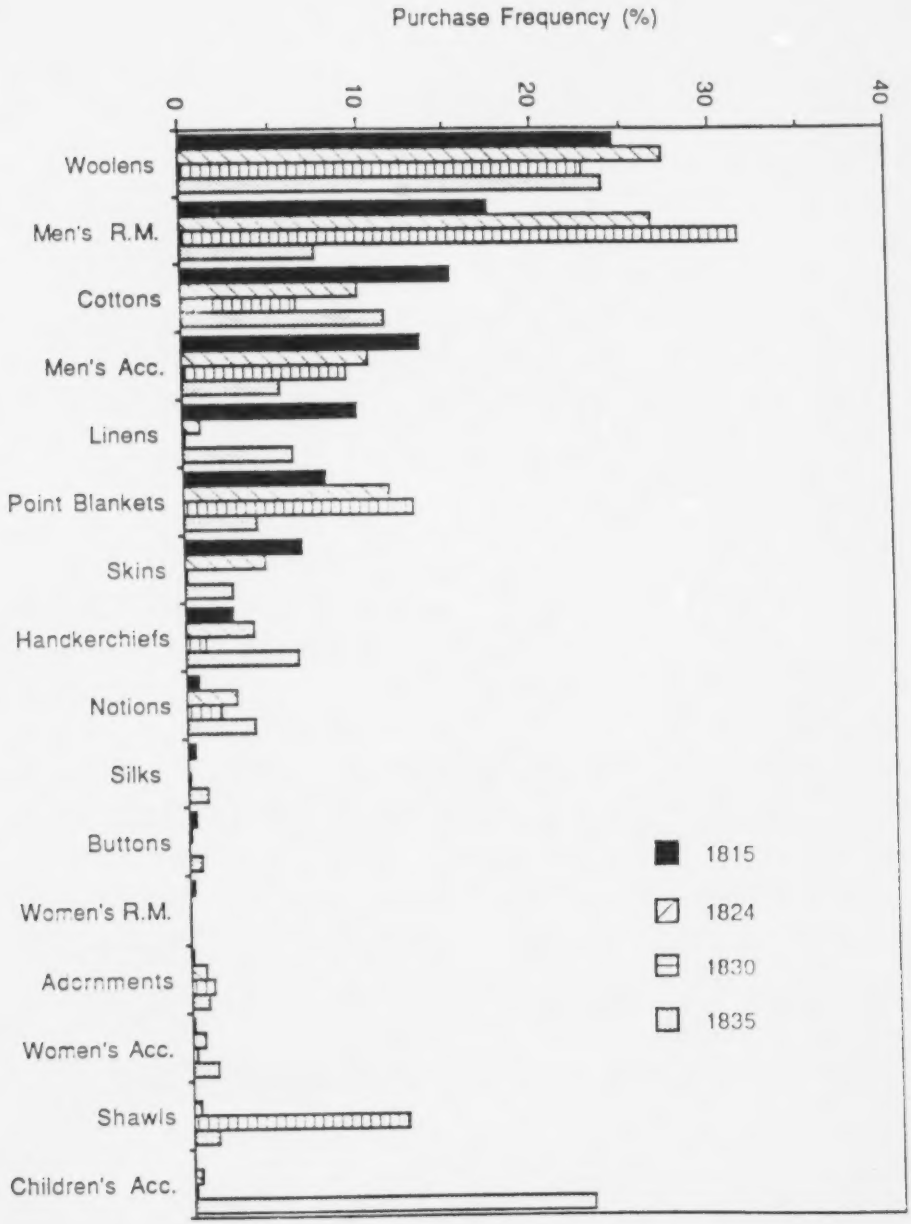


Figure 1. Textile and Dress Items Purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, 1815 to 1835.

Within *Children's Accessories* (see figure 1), children's shoes represent where the majority of cash was spent (95%), the remaining 5% described purchases of boy's stockings. These shoes were purchased primarily by the Protestant metis (81.7%), with the parish of St. Andrew's accounting for 48.5%. There are two possible explanations for this concentration in purchases. The location of the post had shifted from the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers to Lower Fort Garry in the parish of St. Andrew's, some twenty miles up the Red River. For simple reasons of proximity, the settlers from this area had easier access to the post store. Residents from other areas of the settlement would have had to make a long trip in order to purchase goods from the post store. Secondly, Frances Simpson had arrived in Red River Settlement by 1835 and resided in St. Andrew's. As discussed previously, the arrival of the governor's wife introduced an age of civility to the Red River Settlement. The adoption of shoes and stockings over moccasins was symbolic of a shift in the standards of respectability. The metis of this area were the most frequently exposed to Frances Simpson and would have been the first to acquire shoes in an effort to become respectable in her eyes. In contrast, Van Kirk (1980) maintained that the only item of dress imported to York Factory that never became popular with metis women were shoes; moccasins remained the footwear of choice. In Red River Settlement's parish of Kildonan, Mrs. Campbell remembered "every article I wore was the product of my mother's hands, even my shoes, until I was fourteen or fifteen years old, when I got my first bought shoes or English shoes, as we used to call them, with brass toecaps" (cited in Healy, 1923, p.100). Within the parish of St. François Xavier, the choice of wearing shoes or moccasins indicated whether or not the wearer had retained their traditional customs and dress or had instead adopted a French Canadian style (Daignault, 1945). In Red River Settlement, parish of residence revealed the demographic structure. Parishes indicated the religious affiliation of the resident and in many cases the resident's race. The majority of parishes were homogeneous in their make-up. As illustrated by shoe purchases, clothing purchases represented parish affiliation.

There were very few items of women's dress imported by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Red River Settlement. The majority of women's clothing was made by hand during the time period of the study. According to Waugh, " from their earliest days, girls of all classes but the lowest were taught fine sewing and usually also embroidery (1967). A small amount of ready-made clothing existed, but it was limited to men's clothing allso known as "slops". Buck (1979) commented on the shirt making endeavors of eighteenth century women. Shirts were made for brothers, fathers and

sons and their construction was an acceptable woman's duty. She added, however, that shirts were also available ready made and could also be purchased from seamstresses. Women's ready to-wear did not begin to appear until the mid 1850's when larger dressmaking shops in England began to make capes and other items of clothing not requiring fitting. In Red River Settlement, it is possible that dresses and cloth were ordered from England by women of the higher classes. Settlers' purchases were listed in the Red River Settlement ledgers by male family head and it is difficult to exclusively assign the yardages of cloth purchased to the production of women's clothing. The Hudson's Bay Company was the only commercial importer of cloth available for dressmaking , but it is difficult to say what these clothes looked like or even how they were made. As a result, in the categories *Women's Ready Made* and *Women's Accessories* significant amounts of money were not spent. The ability to make clothing is primarily a technological factor. The non-existence of women's ready made clothing in the Hudson's Bay Company store forced women to fashion their own clothes and this lack of availablilty is reflected in the small purchase percentage in these categories. European settlers skilled in the production of cloth and clothing construction would have worn clothes different from the metis population as alternate clothing options were known by them. The same logic holds for the metis population as these people were educated in native clothing production.

The most frequently purchased individual item in 1815 was common printed cotton (8.6% of the total individual items purchased). The larger category of *Cotton Dry Goods* comprised 15.2% and ranked third in that year's overall purchases. In 1824, *Cotton Dry Goods* dropped to 9.8% and in 1830 fell again to 6.3%. By 1835, *Cotton Dry Goods* comprised 11.4% of the purchases, common striped cotton being the most frequently purchased (32.6%). Cotton dry goods were used both as dress fabrics and for home furnishings. Letitia Hargrave recalled a purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company Post Store in York Factory "I have just got 56 yards of the gayest print to make curtains of" (letter dated September 1, 1840, cited in MacLeod, 1947, p.72). These curtains included bed curtains and window curtains. Many of the fabrics imported to the area were used in the household. Green Gauze, according to Letitia Hargrave, was used in the battle against insects: the fabric was used as mosquito netting. Common flannel was the second most frequently purchased item (19.6%). Letitia Hargrave said this fabric was "the best thing [she could] see. It is fine and at the same time close and compact"(cited in Macleod, 1947, p.71). She remarked on flannel again to note that "the poorest people here rush at the dearest flannel" (cited in Macleod, 1947, p.71). Andrew Graham

outlined the use of flannel as a lining fabric for cloth waistcoats and skin breeches (cited in Williams, 1969). Letitia Hargrave commented on the excellent insulating properties of flannel in York Factory's cold winters "while the stove rages I am clothed in flannel from the neck down to the wrist and ankle" (cited in Macleod, 1947, p.90). The European adoption of clothing layers illustrated that clothing was used in a functional context, that is, it was chosen for its ability to protect the wearer from the cold. The metis population, borrowing from their native descent, may have used skin clothing rather than cloth garments. Race, or descent, affected cold weather clothing choices.

Point Blankets were purchased in consistent numbers (see figure 1). Originally manufactured in Britain by such companies as Whitney, these blankets were imported by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1780 onward. Made of wool and mostly handwoven, the points denoted the size and weight of the blanket and ranged from 1 1/2 to 4 points (Forrest & Oakes, 1991). Historical figures have documented their popularity with the native and metis populations, who "never move[d] without their blankets common coarse often dirty affairs. They fold[ed] them like a scarf, not a shawl. The wee'est girls ha[d] them" (Letitia Hargrave in a letter dated September, 1840 cited in MacLeod,1947, p.62). Alexander Ross (1856/1972), too, wrote of the metis women's fondness for the item "the blanket is considered indispensable; it is used on all occasions...the constant use of the same blanket, day and night is supposed to give rise to consumptive complaints" (p.191). The statistical evidence supports Hargrave's and Ross' remarks. For the four years combined, point blankets were the most popular with the metis population, both Catholic and Protestant. The Catholic population accounted for slightly more of the sales (36.2%) and the Protestant population comprised just 5% less (29.2%). The purchase of these blankets is indicative of the shift in the settlement's population structure. Based on the figures created by linking the ledger data to census data, the primary post store customers in 1815 were European and Protestant (36%). Sixty percent of the consumers were born in the Orkney Islands. This explains why in 1815, the majority of blankets were purchased by settlers of European descent (90.8%). These are the Selkirk settlers who arrived in Red River Settlement in 1812. In 1824, however, 78.1% of point blankets were bought by metis settlers (Roman Catholic metis, 40.3%; Protestant metis, 37.8%). After the merge of the two fur trading companies in 1821 many retired traders settled with their metis families in Red River. Again in 1830 the majority of point blankets were purchased by metis (Roman Catholic metis, 17.9%; Protestant metis, 44.2%). Native purchases of point blankets in this year accounted for a mere 3.7%. Perhaps, traditionally native

materials were still preferred over the European blanket. Percentages in 1835 restated the popularity of the point blanket among the Protestant metis population, as this group accounted for 66.7% of purchases from the post store. Point Blankets provide an interesting illustration of the many ways in which purchases from the Hudson Bay Company store were altered for other purposes. Blankets were used in their original capacity for bedding, but they were also used as shawls and they were cut up for the manufacture of capots.

Use of skins would appear to indicate the manufacture of traditional native dress styles. However, an analysis of the ledgers (see figure 1) revealed that purchase of *Skins* from the Hudson's Bay Company was minimal (1815, 6.5%; 1824, 4.4%; 1830, .2%; 1835,1.4%). One possible explanation is that this reflects the shift in use to the trade cloth being imported by the company. By 1815, cloth was the material of choice rather than skins. Harrison (1985) commented that early styles of metis dress were adapted to utilize cloth rather than the traditionally used animal skins. Brasser (1976) attributed this switch to the decrease in big game available for trapping. He stated that blanket robes and cloth coats were far more common than buffalo robes. An additional hypothesis is that residents making traditional native style clothing would have eliminated the Hudson's Bay Company as a middleman or would never have used it. Instead, they trapped animals and prepared their own skins. Alternately, these people purchased from or traded with another source (for exampie another hunter). Over the four years surveyed, skins were purchased primarily by settlers of European descent (37.4%). These settlers were not active trappers and did not possess the skills required to prepare the skins for clothing use. In 1815, European purchases accounted for 96.7% of skin purchases. Again, this is due in large part to the fact that Red River Settlement at this time was primarily a European population. In 1824, Europeans make up 77% of skin purchases; in 1830, purchases drop to comprise 64.3%; and in 1835, the percentage drops again to 49.1%. This drop may again reflect an increase in the use of cloth. Methods of obtaining skins illustrated the role the demographic variable *descent* plays in trade patterns. Settlers with a tradition of trading for or trapping furs did not need to purchase skins from an outside source such as the Hudson's Bay Company store.

The category *Handkerchiefs* was analyzed for the variety and the quantity of these items being brought into the settlement by the Hudson's Bay Company (see figure 1). The natives used them both as a form of adornment and as a functional item to shield the

wearer's head from the wet or cold. However, they appear to have served a third purpose in the stores,

> "Paper and string were not used. When a person bought some teas, or some sugar, or anything that today would be in a paper bag, he used to also buy a cotton handkerchief to wrap it in. The Indians were very fond of tea, and they used to treasure a cotton handkerchief in which some teas had been wrapped, as long as it kept any of the odor of the teas, which they considered a delightful fragrance" (Mary Jane Truthwaite, Andrew McDermot's granddaughter, cited in Healy, 1923, p.134).

Statistical evidence shows that in 1835, residents of the Indian Village are responsible for 91.9% of the handkerchief sales from the post store. However, purchases in similar amounts of all types of handkerchiefs reveals that there is no significant difference in taste among racial groups. Among fancy colored silk handkerchiefs the following breakdown occurs; Metis Roman Catholic (25.9%), European protestant (30.5%), and metis protestant (38.2%) are similar in the percentages bought. European Roman Catholic purchases account for a mere 5.5%. A similar picture is created with black silk handkerchief purchases; European Roman Catholic (20.2%), metis Roman Catholic (27.5%), European protestant (27.5%), and metis Protestant (24.7%). One would expect that the purchase of silk handkerchiefs would reflect that the "colourful" Catholic metis bought fancy colored handkerchiefs and the Protestant metis purchased the more "conservative" black silk item. The statistical evidence negates this concept. This conclusion may illustrate the bias of a twentieth century study; silk handkerchiefs may not have been the luxury item they are considered today.

Notions included thread, ribbon, tapes, and worsted wool. The importation of these items as well as standard sewing equipment such as needles and tailoring scissors suggests the presence of dressmaking in Red River Settlement. Items such as ferrets, "a narrow silk ribbon used for trimming" (Ross, 1976, p.584), were frequently used for dress trim by the European settlers. Silk ferrets were purchased primarily by the Protestant metis (45.7%). The Catholic metis accounted for 28.6% and the Protestant Europeans comprised 25.7%. The metis used ribbon in other forms of adornment rather than as garment trim "they fashioned their hair simply in a single long braid at the back which might be decorated with ribbons and beads". Carioles and horse trappings were decorated with ribbons. MacLean described the buffalo hunt runner's horse, "head and tail display all the colors of the rainbow in the variety of ribbons attached to them"

(cited in Wallace, 1932, p.375). Tytler discussed metis men's hats "all of which are profusely covered with tinsel hat-cords, gold and silver tassels, ribbons of every hue in the rainbow, and a good many more that the rainbow never displayed" (1853, p.314). The tassels described by Tytler are purchased exclusively by the Catholic metis (100%). The purchase of Holland Tape suggests that some tailoring was also done. Holland tape is "a linen or cotton plain woven fabric which was heavily sized. Three sizes (broad, middling and narrow) and two colors (black and white) existed" (Ross, 1976, p.584). These tapes were used in the interior of garments to provide support to the seams.

Buttons were analyzed as a separate category from notions as they were used both as a functional item and in a decorative form (see figure 1). They came in three sizes, vest, jacket and coat and were available in mother of pearl, gilt, lead/metal, and silk covered. As purchase frequencies were performed according to price, buttons represented a very small percentage of the settlers' actual purchases. Statistically, there appears to be no preference for any button type by a particular group.

Silk Dry Goods were not bought in large quantities in any of the years surveyed (see figure 1). The year with the highest sales figures is 1835 (1%); in the other three years silk accounts for less than .5%. Silk, considered a luxury good in most time periods and areas (Joseph, 1981), is understandably not purchased as often or in as large quantities. Silk Serge "a smooth, strong twilled fabric" (Fairchild, 1979, p.594) was purchased exclusively by the Protestant metis (100%).

The category *Adornments* included such items as earrings, neckchains, ivory haircombs, beads and hat tassels. Items such as these were favoured among the native population, "jewellery such as ornamental earrings and silver brooches were popular items" (Van Kirk, 1980, p.101). Common gilt earrings were bought in the largest numbers by the Protestant metis (57.1%). Interestingly, no earrings were purchased by Catholic metis in any of the four years surveyed. Metis women used beads and ribbons to decorate their hair. Beads were purchased from the company primarily by Catholic metis (91.9%). In addition, they were very fond of jewellery such as necklaces, earrings and beads. Others who could not afford to purchase jewellery from the Hudson's Bay Company made do with the available resources "I remember that my mother's wedding ring was made out of an English shilling cut with a knife by my father's uncle, Angus Matheson, to fit her finger" (Mrs Henderson cited in Healy, 1923, p.103).

Over the four years analyzed, *Woolen Dry Goods* and *Men's Ready Made* consistently remained in the top four categories of money spent. The following subsections discuss the temporal variations in these two categories and usage of the items within each of the two categories.

Woolen Dry Goods

The category *Woolen Dry Goods* consistently accounted for a large percentage of settler purchases. For the four years analyzed, *Woolen Dry Goods* was the most popular category with Catholic metis (40.9%). The Protestant metis and the European metis are similar in their purchases of this category, accounting for 25.1% and 23.9% respectively.

Within the category *Woolen Dry Goods* (see figure 2), duffle "a coarse, heavy woolen fabric resembling blanketing" was the most popular item in 1815 (31.03%). Duffle was a commonly used fabric in the manufacture of leggings. This thick fabric was ideal for keeping warm in the cold climate of Rupert's Land. Andrew Graham recounted company employee's winter dress in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This costume included three layers of duffle socks reaching halfway up the leg (cited in Williams, 1969). In 1840, Letitia Hargrave described duffle leggings which she wore attached to her drawers to protect her legs from the cold. She used ribbon decorated leggings that were inspired by similar leggings which the native and metis women embellished with quill and beadwork. Painted in 1825-26, Rindisbacher's rendering "A Half-cast and his Two Wives" (see appendix I), depicts two metis women. Both women's decorated leggings can be clearly seen underneath their calf length skirts. Tytler (1853) described the "leggins [sic] of variously coloured cloths, all more or less ornamented by the women, with beads or silk thread according to taste" (p. 314). Silk thread and beads were imported to the settlement by the Hudson's Bay Company and were a frequently purchased item. Adapted by the natives for use in outerwear, duffle appears to have replaced the traditional use of animal skins.

Stroud is defined as a "coarse heavy, woolen cloth" (Funk and Wagnalls, 1974). The company imported several colors, including white, HB plain blue, green and red. In 1815, this cloth constituted 50.5% of the *Woolen Dry Goods* purchased (white, 21.8%; Hudson's Bay [HB] plain blue, 16.5%; green, 6.9%; red, 5.3%). In 1824, stroud was again the woolen textile most frequently purchased and accounted for 68.1% of the

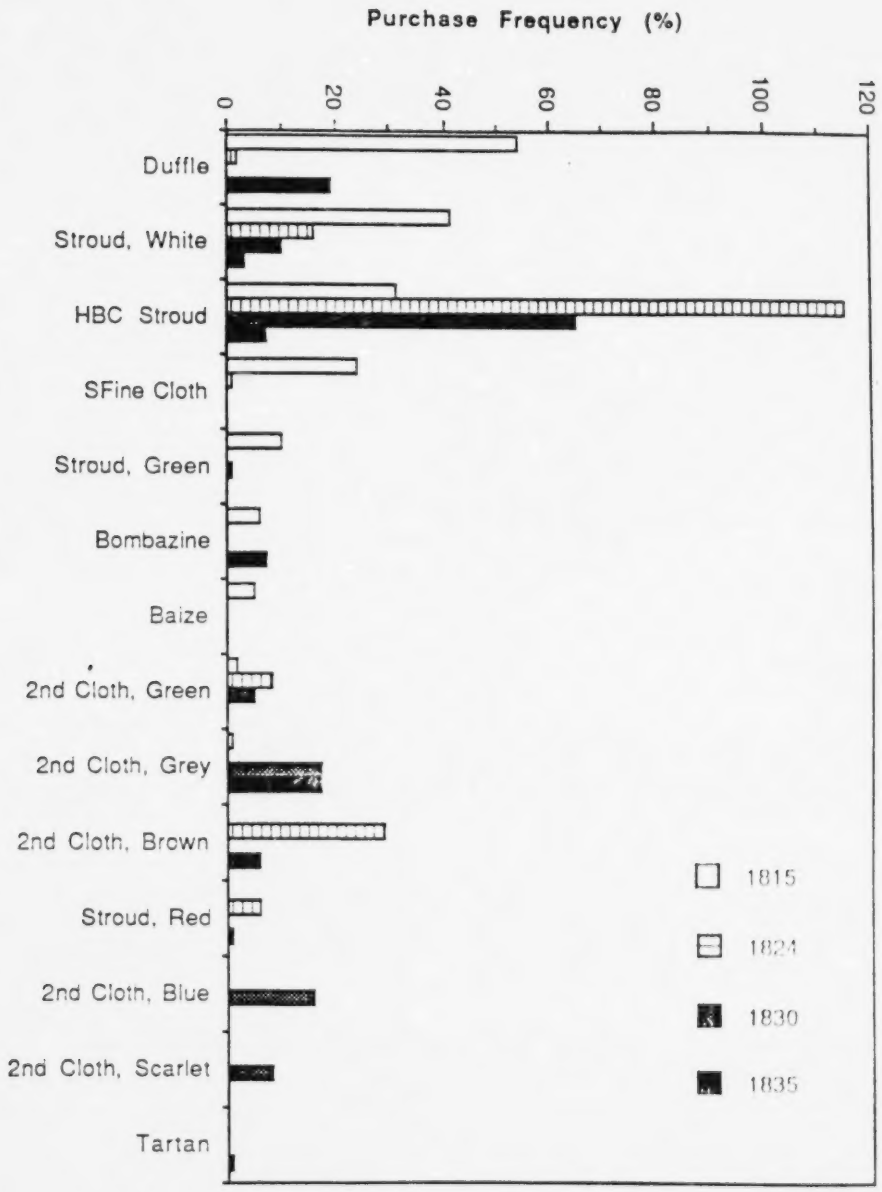


Figure 2. Woolen Items Purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, 1815 to 1835.

store's *Woolen Dry Goods* sales (HB plain blue, 55.6%; white, 7.7%; red, 2.9%; green, 1.9%). Stroud, in 1830, made up 63% of the post store's woolen goods sales. HB plain blue stroud was the most popular color in that year (50%), white stroud accounted for 7.7%, red stroud accounted for 4.6%, and green stroud had sunk to less than one percent of that year's sales (.7%). In 1835, stroud made up 11.3% of *Woolen Dry Goods* (HB plain blue, 7.2%; white stroud, 3.1%; red, 1%). The differing prices given to the various colors of stroud may have had implications for purchase frequency. HB plain blue and white stroud were less expensive than red or green stroud. This was because of the cost of the dyes used. Indigo was a relatively inexpensive, available dye in the first part of the eighteen hundreds. The cost of the dyes used to produce red and green cloth made them more expensive. Brasser (1976) stated that red and blue stroud largely replaced the use of animal skins. Brasser, however, wrote from a museum viewpoint. Artifacts manufactured from woolen goods are more likely to appear in museum collections than are skin clothing as they last longer. It seems likely from the colors and quantities purchased that stroud was used in the manufacture of country-made capots. Brasser confirmed this and described the costume of the Red River Métis as including "trade sashes wrapped around blue stroud coats" (1974, p.47). Stroud was also used in the manufacture of bags and breechclouts (Brasser, 1976) and the material was ideal for backing the embroidery and beadwork of the Red River Settlement's metis. Demographic factors influencing color preference in stroud are as follows. Preference for HB plain blue and white appear to be equal among *TYPE* groups (see Table 1).

Type by Stroud	Catholic. and European.	Catholic. and Metis	Protestant and European	Protestant and Metis	European and Other
HB plain blue	1.9%	38.4%	27.2%	27.6%	4.9%
White	2.4%	35.8%	28.1%	25.7%	8%
Red	6.8%	61%	0%	0%	32.2%
Green	80.1%	0%	0%	19.9%	0%

Table 1. Preference for Colour of Stroud by Race and Religion

However, between red and green there is a marked difference; the Catholic Europeans account for 80.1% of purchases of green stroud and the Catholic metis buy 61% of the available red stroud. There is no evidence as to why this difference in colour preference occurs.

Cloth was imported by the Hudson's Bay Company and came in various grades, Superfine Fine, Second and List. It was defined as " a fabric woven with threads spun of short woolen fibres. After weaving, the fabric was shrunk or fulled and then brushed to raise a thick nap which completely covered the weave" (Mann, 1971, p .xi). Judging from the ready made clothing available in the post store, Cloth was used to make men's jackets, trousers and vests.

Men's Ready Made

Figure three illustrates the breakdown of *Men's Ready Made* purchases. A non-existent item in 1815, by 1824 capots were the most frequently purchased item (33.85%). In 1830 they made up 37.36%, and in 1835 they were responsible for 19.35%. A capot was a "thigh length coat with full length sleeves which could come with or without a hood or cape. Most had small shoulder decorations made of red stroud, and to keep the capot closed, both thongs and/or buttons were used along with a colorfully woven worsted belt. Used primarily by the native populations, the most popular colors were white or blue" (Ross, 1976, p.586). Capots were both imported by the Hudson's Bay Company and also made by the settlers from dry goods bought from the post store. In some cases these country-made capots were sold to the Hudson's Bay Company store in exchange for cash or credit. In 1824, for example, Solomon Goulais and Andrew Linklater both sold blue country-made capots to the Hudson's Bay Company for eighteen shillings and nine pence. The capot and the woven l'Assomption sash or Canadian belt had a communication system all of their own. Introduced by the French, the style was adopted by the Scots "the blue capote and red belt, so peculiar to those of French origin in this quarter have become favorite articles of dress among the rising generation" (Ross, 1856/1972, p.208). The style of wearing the capot and sash indicated the origin of the wearer. If the sash was worn under the capot, the wearer was metis; if worn over, the wearer was of French Canadian descent (Ross, 1856/1972, p.190). Letitia Hargrave described the appearance of two such men, who were "the most distinguished voyageurs. They were dressed in sky blue capots, scarlet sashes & high scarlet night caps and moccasins" (letter to Mrs. Dougal MacTavish, dated September, 1840 cited in Macleod, 1947, p.78). The statistical evidence shows that while the blue

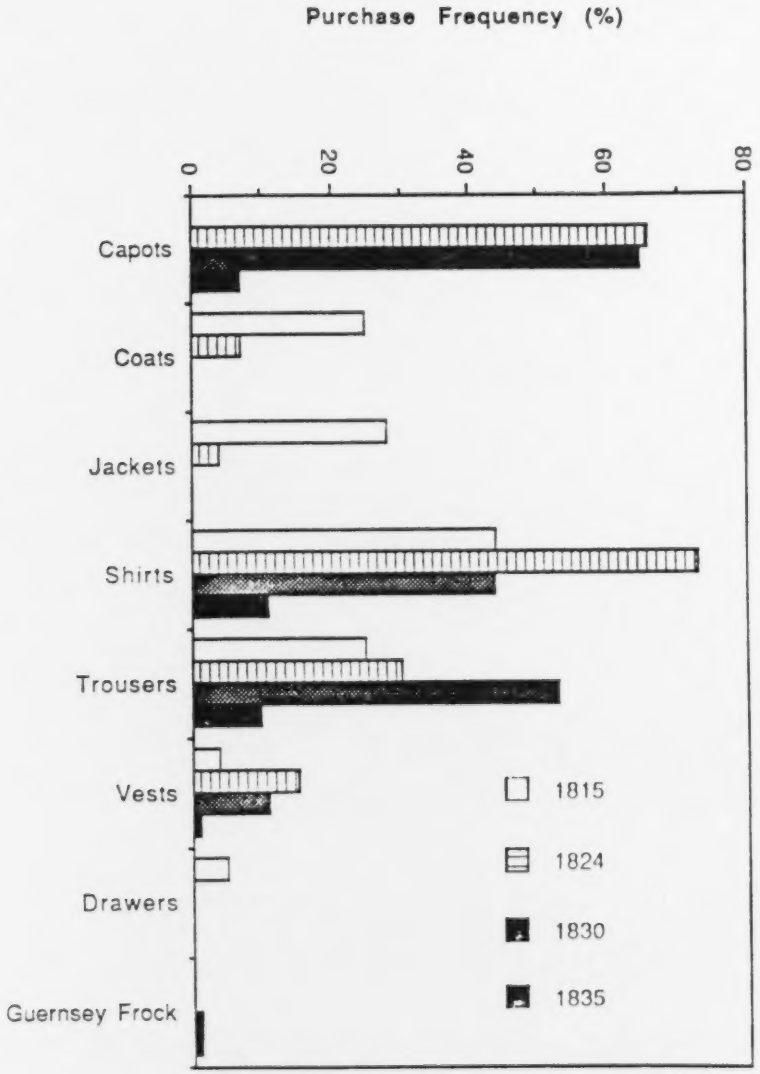


Figure 3. Men's Ready Made Items Purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, 1815 to 1835.

capot was purchased by all segments of the population it was the most popular with the Catholic metis (41.2%). The white capot, in contrast, was only purchased by the Protestant metis (100%). In addition, a gray capot was sold by the Hudson's Bay Company and this style was purchased by both the Catholic metis (82.4%) and the Protestant Europeans (17.6%).

Common clothing items known as *Slops* were imported by the Hudson's Bay Company and were purchased in the thousands. *Slops* included shirts, trousers, capots, coats, vests, and jackets. As Waugh (1967) attested these articles of clothing were roughly made and were made up bu tailors when normal business was slack (p. 107). According to Ross (1976), the largest supplier of these was Favell and Bousfield with whom the company maintained a standard order for *slops*. As illustrated in Figure 3, shirts and trousers were frequently purchased items. These items would have been part of the Hudson's Bay Company yearly *Slops* order. Shirts came made up in many types of fabrics including common striped cotton, common printed, flannel, wool and linen. Trousers were made up and sold in duck, the various grades of cloth, kersey (a durable woolen fabric), makeen, corduroy, striped jean.

Ens (1989, personal communications) suggested that Red River Settlement was divided along social lines: a) the acculturated English mixed bloods wearing European style clothing and b) the French metis who still wore traditional Indian type clothing. In support of this, the statistical evidence shows that over the four years analyzed, *Men's Ready Made* was purchased for the most part by Protestant metis (40.9%) and this category accounts for 41.6% of their total yearly dress and textile purchases. These figures can be compared to the Catholic metis' smaller purchase of 18.4 % which accounted for only 22% of their yearly expenditure.

Temporal Variations in Purchases

This section discusses the third objective of the study which was to compare the dates of purchase of textile and dress items bought from the Hudson's Bay Company post stores, 1815-1835 (see figure 4). The date for each textile or dress item purchased was recorded in the ledger data file. Each item was treated as a separate case. For 1815, the most textile or dress items were purchased in November (24.13%). In 1824, the month of July experienced the highest sales (78.5%). In 1830, the majority of textile or dress items were purchased in June (66.13%). In 1835, September was the most popular month (28.2%). Over the four years surveyed, more textile and dress

purchases were made in the months June, July, August, September, October, and November. As an explanation, settlers employed with the Hudson's Bay Company on the wage labour system typically left the settlement in June or July. These employees were guaranteed by the company that their families would be provided for during the length of time the man was away. Advances in the form of credit were spent in the Hudson's Bay Company post stores to outfit families with supplies. Purchases made in the later months (after September) were likely made because of payment from the summer crop or because of men returning from their summer contract and spending their remaining credit.

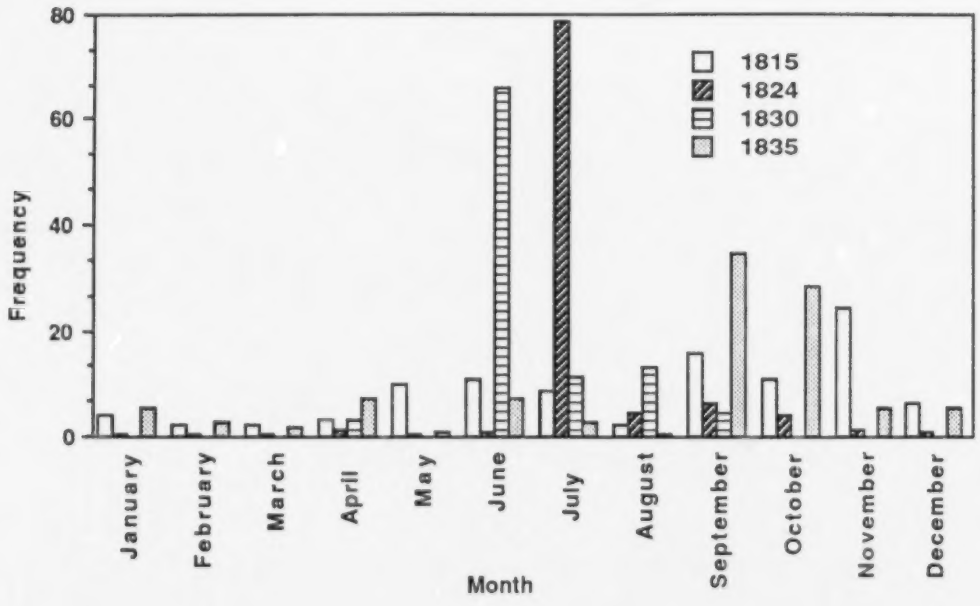


Figure 4 Purchase Dates of Textile and Dress Items from the Hudson's Bay Company, 1815 to 1835

There is no consistency in the dates of the year when items are purchased. One would expect the settler's purchases to occur evenly throughout the month as each settler visits the store and makes his purchases. However, the same date often appears repeatedly. For example in 1835, 117 items were purchased on September 12th, constituting sixty percent of that month's sales. Ross (1856/1972) explained the procedure. The Company in an effort to save time and facilitate business, "opened [the post store] on certain days only, and all the settlers [were] invited to attend....favorites

were quietly admitted at the windows" (p.66). Unlike the present day Hudson's Bay Company stores, the post store did not experience a surge in sales in the days before Christmas. This can be attributed to the fact that, in the early part of the 1800's, Christmas was a religious holiday. This was most likely a direct influence of the Scottish settlers; New Year's Eve was treated as a celebration and was the more festive of the two occasions. In addition, weather was likely a factor considered by the settlers. The severe cold of Red River Settlement's winters not conducive to travel.

Although not within the time period studied, new technologies would begin to have effects on Red River Settlement fashions later in the century. The results would be that the types of fabric available and the selection would be greatly different in the years after 1835. The invention of the sewing machine made it possible for clothing to be produced faster and less expensively. The introduction of synthetic dyes in the late 1850's had a profound effect on the number of colour choices available and the relative cost of these fabrics. New influences also began to appear. The prevalence of women's periodicals in the mid nineteenth century and their influence on women's fashions was well documented by many authors (Collard, 1967; Taylor, 1990; Tortora, 1973). These magazines illustrated current French, English and American styles. This increased communication with the United States, combined with the Red River buffalo robe trade, had effects on dress. The trade routes, which thrived in the mid eighteen hundreds, opened up new markets to its primarily metis participants. Two trips were made yearly to St. Paul and a wide variety of goods was brought back to the settlement, including dry goods. According to MacLeod & Morton (1974) the buffalo hunt enabled the half-breed population "to indulge in their rage for dress" (p.87). A study with an expanded time frame would be able to illustrate temporal variations in a clearer manner.

Defining temporal variations was difficult. The twenty years investigated in this study revealed few remarkable differences. Fashions changed little in the data from the remote area of the Red River Settlement as shipments of clothing and word of new fashions only arrived once a year. As higher status white women became more common in the area, new fashions likely became more important. Frances Simpson's arrival to the colony in the 1830's reaffirmed the importance of clothing and one's appearance in the path towards respectability. Studies of later time periods or an analysis of a longer time period would reveal greater temporal variations. In addition, a future study should compare the purchase dates from this study to the post's journal. Post journals were

daily records of the post's happenings. A comparison of this type would reveal the dates of such events as York boat departures, spring thaw and winter freeze and could also reveal if certain goods were only bought at certain times of the year.

Textile and Dress Items as a Percentage of Household Expenditure

The following section discusses the fourth objective of the study which was firstly to express as a percentage the amount of textile and dress items purchased by household from the HBC post store; and secondly to compare the percentage spent on textile and dress items to the total amount spent on goods purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company post store. Both the percentage of textile and dress items bought and the percentage spent on textile and dress items were grouped into four groups: zero to twenty-four percent; twenty-five to forty-nine percent; fifty to seventy four percent; seventy-five to 100 percent. The following pie graphs reveal the breakdown.

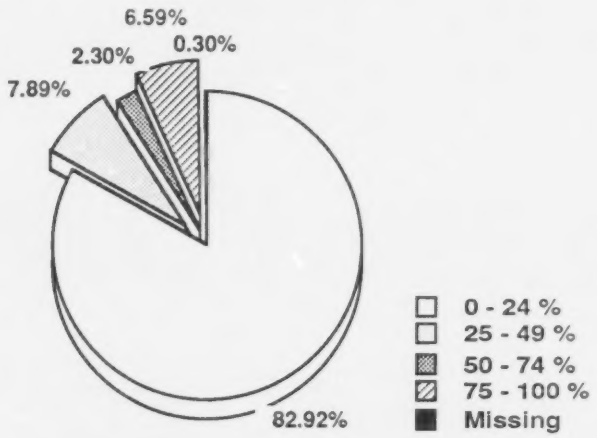


Figure 5 Household Expenditure on Textile or Dress Items, 1815 to 1835.

Over the four years surveyed, 83% of households spent 25% and under of their total expenditure on textile and dress items (See figure 5). A breakdown of this percentile reveals that 17.2% spent 4% and under on textile and dress items; 41.4% (the highest percentage) spent between 5% and 9% on textiles and dress items, and 12.6% spent between 10% and 14%. Figures today reveal that the average household spends approximately 6% on clothing (Statistics Canada, 1990); this amount corresponds closely to the amount spent between 1815 and 1835. Thus, households in

the Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835 were similar to modern households in their clothing expenditures.

A comparison between the percentage spent on textiles and dress and Race and Religion (*TYPE*) revealed that European protestants spent more on textiles and dress than any other group (50% of the total amount spent). Metis Protestants accounted for 18.6% of the total amount spent on textiles and dress. The remaining *TYPE* groups accounted for the following percentages, Metis Catholic (14.3%), European Catholics (10%), and European and Other (7.1%)

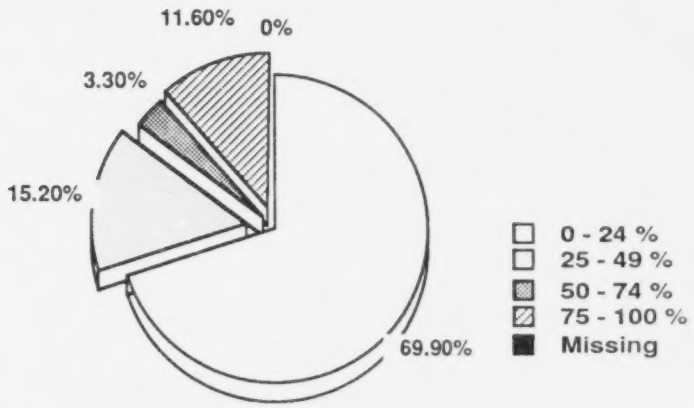


Figure 6 Household Purchases of Textile or Dress Items, 1815 to 1835.

Over the four years surveyed, for the majority of the population (69.9%), textile and dress items again comprised less than 25% of the total number of goods purchased. Within this percentile, the majority of the population (21.1%) bought between 10% and 14%. For purchases of textiles and dress which accounted for less than 4% of the total number of purchases, 9.8% of the population was encompassed. Between 5% and 9%, the frequency went up and included 19.2% of the population. Again, the demographic variable TYPE (Race and Religion combined) that bought the most items of textile and dress was European Protestants (47.1%). This figure was similar to the percentage they spent in the post store. The remaining TYPE groups accounted for the following percentages, Metis Protestant (22.1%), Metis Catholic (13.2%), European Catholics (10.3%), and European and Other (7.4%). The ranking of *PSPNT*

and of *PTEX* is the same in both calculations. From this, it becomes apparent that the the majority of the Hudson's Bay Company's post store's business came from the European Protestant population. Figure 7 shows a comparison of the percentage of goods bought by the Variable TYPE to the actual population in Red River Settlement between 1815 and 1835. From this diagram, it is apparent the HBC customer base in Red River Settlement was similar to the actual population.

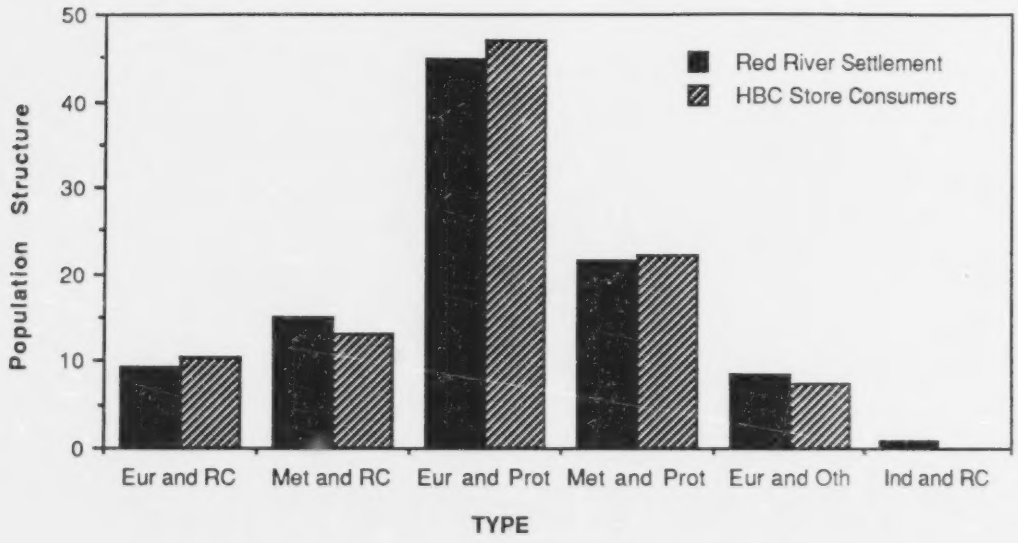


Figure 7. Comparison of Red River Settlement's Population to Post Store Customer Base.

Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient (Pearson's r) describes the strength of the relationship between two variables. *PSPNT* and *PTEX* were compared to the variable *BUYING POWER* (cultivated acreage + buildings + total livestock + boats). Using Touliatos and Compton's (1988) guidelines for strengths of relationships, the resulting r values revealed a low relationship as they fell between 0.2 and 0.4. Alternately stated, no clear relationship exists between *BUYING POWER* and *PSPNT* and *PTEX*.

Correlation	PSPNT	PTEX
Buying Power	r=.209	r= .210

Table 2 Correlation between PSNT and Buying Power and PTEX and Buying Power

According to Ens (1990), production from the farm and hunt remained directed to household consumption. Most settlers produced little more than was needed to survive throughout the year. Trade with the Hudson's Bay Company provided European goods, including textile and dress items, but settlers did not produce more in order to acquire more goods from the Hudson's Bay Company. This would account for the low relationship between *BUYPOW* and *PSPNT* and *PTEX*.

Acquisition and Production of Goods in the Red River Settlement

As stated in objective five the next section's intention is to discuss the acquisition and production of goods in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835. It is divided into two subsections: acquisition and cloth production.

Acquisition of Goods in the Red River Settlement

The Hudson's Bay Company retained a monopoly in the Red River Settlement for a number of years. Geographically isolated from other trading centres, settlers relied on the Hudson's Bay Company annual shipment of goods from Britain to provide for them throughout the year. In 1817, Lord Selkirk proposed a mutually beneficial trade system that would involve a trade route between the American settlements in the Missouri and Illinois territories and Red River Settlement. This was an effort to provide the Selkirk settlers with alternate source for goods. (Gilman, Gilman & Stultz, 1979). This trade system did not begin to develop until the buffalo robe trade began to thrive in later years. Thus, the Hudson's Bay Company was the major supplier of goods to the Red River Settlement from 1815 to 1835.

It was stated in the literature review that Metis were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company on the York boats. This meant, as Foster (1972) noted, this group often spent their earnings in the company store at York factory. Records of these purchases were available through the Hudson's Bay Company archives, but were not included in the

study as they did not fit its' parameters. It must follow, however, that an alternate surce for goods was availbale to those residents employed on boat trips to York factory.

Ross (1856/1972) outlined complaints about the complexity and "red tape" involved in purchasing goods from the Hudson's Bay Company store. Settlers requiring a supply from the post store first went to the governor who then gave the settler a note itemizing the goods. The settler then went to the head clerk, then to his assistant and finally to the shopkeeper. Ross claimed that "it often happened that the settler was sent away without the articles he wanted, the shopkeeper giving himself little trouble to search for them....whether delivered or not, [every article] was charged to the settler's account" (1856/1972, p.65-66). Often, even after this, the settler was asked to leave the note and come back later. This continued to the extent that, even though notes were lost, items were still charged against the settler's accounts. As complaints increased, the system did change. According to Ross, however, it was still inefficient and the situation worsened to the point that the ability to obtain goods depended on one's rank within the community.

West (1824/1966) stated that a circulating medium had "frequently been requested by the Red River settlers, and would relieve them from many unpleasant circumstances arising from barter and payment by bills" (p.72). The shift to a cash system in 1835 and the resulting adjustment to the accounting procedure had its effects on the Red River Settlement[3]. The result was that the supply of goods to the Red River Settlement dropped to nearly one-half of what it had been previously (Ross, 1856/1972). This decrease was because the amount of goods available had to correspond to the amount of money in circulation. The consequences for the Red River Settlement were scarcity of goods and the post store only opening on certain days with lineups that could last for days. Corruption became commonplace; those that could afford it were guaranteed first choice of goods. The Red River Settlement became a classic example of a black market economy and this situation lasted for quite a few years. After this time, the Hudson's Bay Company began to allow settlers to import goods to the area and offered inexpensive freight charges on the Company's ships as incentive. Private merchants began to appear in Red River Settlement and the origins of free trade took root. Foster (1990, personal communications) suggested that this transformation in

---

[3] This change has implications for future research of textile and dress goods imported to the Red River Settlement. After 1835, it is no longer possible to link specific textile and dress goods purchased with demographic information. As outlined previously, the accounting system changes to list items under a general heading "goods purchased".

Red River's economy was a conscious effort on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company. He proposed that the Hudson's Bay Company was actively creating a middle class or merchant class. This new class was encouraged for two reasons: 1) the time and expense involved in importing a large variety of goods to the settlement was becoming a burden to the Hudson's Bay Company. By allowing a merchant class to import goods at its own expense, it eliminated a large administrative task for the Hudson's Bay Company; 2) by allowing these merchants to become profitable from goods imported on Company ships, the Hudson's Bay Company could, in effect, ensure a loyalty by fostering ties between the merchant class of Red River Settlement and the Hudson's Bay Company.

The merchants in Red River Settlement enjoyed a period of profit as a result of this new economy. It was only when the metis involved with the buffalo hunt began to realize the economic advantages offered by free trade that the Company and the profitable merchants began to reject free trade. The company and the merchants saw these metis as a threat to their profits and monopoly. The Sayer trial of 1849 cemented the company's negative view on the legality of free trade. This trial contributed to the end of Hudson's Bay Company control, "the monopoly was broken and the settlement was no longer subordinated to the company's larger fur trade strategy; Red River had acquired an economic life of its own" (Friesen, 1987, p.101).

Cloth Production in the Red River Settlement

Determining whether or not cloth was being manufactured in Red River Settlement was a problem in this analysis of the Hudson's Bay Company post ledgers. The ledgers did not provide this type of information. If cloth was being produced in the settlement, it meant that another source of fabric was available to the settlers. Holford (ROM, 1967) had stated that those districts in Upper Canada settled by Highland Scots made homespun and woven garments as they were already trained as weavers. That similar circumstances existed in Red River Settlement was postulated in chapter two. Based on the remembrances of women who grew up in the settlement, it becomes evident that this was indeed the case. Some of the settlers had looms on which blankets and homespun cloth were woven. Long winter evenings of teasing, carding and spinning wool were recalled. Mrs. Norquay remembered her childhood chores included teasing wool for the women to card the following day. "Our clothes were made out of homespun. Everybody had sheep" (cited in Healy, 1923, p.147). MacBeth added that "the processes from sheep-shearing to the home-made suit were slow and primitive in the light of modern machinery, but the article was good" (1897, p.43). Mrs. Campbell

stated "we got our sewing done before June because then came the sheep shearing. We picked the wool and carded it and some spun it. Every article I wore was the product of my mother's hands" (cited in Healy, 1923, p.99). MacBeth (1897) cited Angus Polson as the principal maker of spinning wheels in Kildonan and added that weaver's looms were a familiar sight in that parish. Sturgeon oil bought from the natives was added to make the wool work easier. Once the cloth was made the oil had to be washed out in huge tubs full of soap and water. Girls used their bare feet to tread the cloth and then boys wrung it out (Healy, 1923). According to MacBeth, the responsibility of fulling[4] the woven cloth was "done in primitive but vigorous style by the kicking of it by barefooted boys, who found it one of the amusements of the winter evenings" (1897, p.44).

In contrast, the metis women of the Red River Settlement did not know how to make their own cloth. According to Ross, the metis women had a "shopping propensity and love of fineries, which did not bespeak industrious habits, or a great desire to manufacture their own clothing" (Ross, 1856/1972 p.192). As a result cloth was considered an important import to the Red River Settlement by this group and the Hudson's Bay Company profited from their lack of knowledge. Bishop Provencher, however, considered the ability to make cloth a necessary knowledge for housewives. In 1826, he persuaded a French-Canadian women to teach cloth making to the girls at his school. Again in 1838, the Bishop attempted to educate the metis women in this skill. and brought in two women from Quebec to teach the metis women. The venture worked well, but fire destroyed the school and machinery in March of 1839. The Hudson's Bay Company offered to help the Bishop to rebuild the school, but the bishop was unable to do so (McCarthy, 1990, p 29).

Other sources of cloth were explored in the Red River Settlement and backed by the Company. The Buffalo Wool Company was founded in 1821. This company's objectives were 1) to provide a wool alternative, in the form of plains buffalo wool, for the Red River Settlers and to use this wool for export; 2) to establish a tannery for manufacturing the hides. The project was financed by the Hudson's Bay Company and employed many of the area's settlers; men were encouraged to secure hides and women were asked to gather the wool. Ross (1856/1972) attributed the company's demise to two factors. Firstly, the skins were not easily procured, and secondly, the settlers who

---

[4] Fulling is defined by Fairchilds as "a finishing process in the manufacture of woolens and worsteds in which the newly woven cloth is felted or compressed into a smooth, tight finish. the material is subjected to moisture, heat, friction and pressure, causing it to shrink considerably in both directions, becoming compact and solid" (1979, p.255).

had previously been farmers stopped farming to hunt buffalo. The result was that the price of buffalo hides rose and the security of an agricultural based community disappeared. According to Ross (1856/1972), the company was badly managed, employees were paid exorbitant wages, hides were allowed to rot and drunkenness was common place. Ultimately, the Buffalo Wool Company went bankrupt and fell heavily into debt with the Hudson's Bay Company. This debt was outstanding for several years before it was written off. Although the Buffalo Wool Company failed, it was an attestation of the effort by the settlers to develop an expanded economic base in Red River and of the company's support of local entrepreneurial efforts.

Thus, it becomes evident that there were alternate sources for cloth in the Red River Settlement. Cloth production was a talent that was encouraged by both the church and the Hudson's Bay Company. However, the degree to which the weavers in the area sold their cloth is unknown. The statistical evidence illustrated that woolen dry goods were bought by groups that were not skilled in the weaving of cloth. Those settlers who had this skill did not rely on the Hudson's Bay Company for woolen cloth, instead they made their own.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusion to this study of dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835 is presented in three parts. A general summary reviews the purpose of the study, the methods used, and briefly overviews the results and discussion. Secondly, the conclusions of the study are presented. Finally, in the third section, recommendations are given for future research.

Summary

Dress was presented as a form of non-verbal communication. This is because "humans associate meanings with its total form, or elements, details, or attributes of that total form" (Roach and Musa, 1980, p.14). Dress indicates the wearer's identity, his culture and even his values. It is an overt signal which alerts researchers to the social, political and economic aspects of a population. The premise of this study was that as a form of communication, dress would reveal more about Red River Settlement's social and economic environment. The purpose of this study was to identify the factors influencing textile and dress purchases of the Red River Settlement's population, 1815 to 1835.

The Hudson's Bay Company was a powerful influence in the Canadian West's development. The company kept copious records for all areas of its interests, including post ledgers and censuses. These records, which now constitute the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, enabled the researcher to study the company and its employees. Using content analysis, data from the Red River Settlement were statistically analyzed to reveal purchasing patterns. The first source of data was from the Hudson's Bay Company Settlers' and Servants' Accounts Ledgers in Red River Settlement. Red River Settlement Censuses were the second source. Four years were investigated: 1815, 1824, 1830, and 1835. Ledger data from 308 families were analyzed from the ledgers and yielded a total of 3884 dress or textile items purchased. From the Red River Census, data from 161 families were analyzed. Data from the account ledgers and data from the censuses were cross-referenced to determine links between demographic information and textile and dress purchases.

Analysis of textile and dress purchases from the Hudson's Bay Company store between 1815 and 1835 described much about the Red River settlement. The analysis of data revealed a greater purchase frequency for certain categories of textile and dress items. *Woolen Dry Goods* and *Men's Ready Made* were categories where the Red River

settlers consistently spent money. Within these categories there were preferences for certain textile and dress items based on demographic factors.

Frequencies of purchase dates were described to determine popular periods of each year. In the four years surveyed, there was no one common month where the majority of textile and dress items was purchased. Dates of purchase did not follow a consistent pattern. It is interesting to note that family purchases often occur on the same day of the month. There were several explanations for this concentration of purchase dates. Firstly, purchases were often made by employees of the company in the days before they left for a summer contract. Secondly, the post store was not open every day as modern stores are. Finally, settlers coming in from distant parishes could not afford the time and cost involved with travelling to the center of Red River Settlement. Few temporal changes existed in the four years surveyed because only a twenty year time span was studied. Technological influences were insignificant, and there was little evolution in styles of dress.

The percentage spent on textile and dress items and the amount of textile and dress items bought were compared to the total amount spent and total amount of goods bought. The average household in Red River Settlement spent between 5% and 9% and bought between 10% and 14%. In the analysis of *Buying Power*, it was thought that a high value for buying power would enable the purchaser to buy more from the post store. In other words, as the value for *Buying Power* increased, so would the percentage spent on textile and dress items and the percentage of textile and dress items bought. This was not the case however: Pearson's r value revealed correlation coefficients of 0.209 and 0.210 respectively. This indicated that settlers were not buying goods they deemed superfluous to their immediate needs. Goods were bought according to a perceived need and these needs changed according to demographic criteria.

In the analysis of the percentage spent on textile and dress items and the percentage of textile and dress items bought, demographic make up did have an effect. The European Protestant population spent more than any other group (50% of the total amount spent on textile and dress items). Therefore, it was in this segment of the population that the majority of the HBC store's business existed.

Store procedures and a shift in the settlement's economy were outlined in the discussion of acquisition of goods in Red River Settlement. The process involved in buying an item from the store was complex and inefficient. The situation worsened until

a company bill was introduced as the circulating medium. As a result, the Red River Settlement experienced problems with supply of goods to the settlement. Classic symptoms of a black market economy surfaced: goods were scarce and the ability to obtain these goods depended on one's socio-economic position. Later in this period, the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged settlers to undertake the import of goods at their own expense. This change introduced the private merchant to Red River Settlement's economic structure. Once this transformation had taken place, the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly ended. Red River Settlement ended its existence as an extension of fur trade economy and began an economic system of its own.

The discussion of the production of textile goods in Red River Settlement revealed that the Selkirk settlers were engaged in cloth production from the beginning of their residence in Red River. Homespun cloth provided material for clothing, but it also fulfilled a social need; the process of making cloth provided amusement for all members of the family on the long Red River winter evenings. In contrast, the metis women, who were not skilled in cloth production, were encouraged by Bishop Provencher to learn this "housewifely skill". The Buffalo Wool Company exemplifies a further effort by the Red River Settlers to create alternate sources of cloth.

It is apparent that while the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a monopoly in the Red River area as the only direct importer of European goods, many other trade sources were available to the Red River Settlers. Settlers tapped into the existing native trading system to obtain items such as sturgeon oil for use in wool production. Natives and Metis accessed the American trade routes for dry goods. Finally, in the latter part of the period, an increase in the numbers of private merchants provided the Red River Settlers with alternate sources for dress and textile items. Inter-settlement trade influenced buying practices; if the goods could be produced, or obtained through trade, this trade system was utilized. Also available to segments of Red River Society was the option of having relatives in Britain send out items of dress. Letters were written outlining the required items and color and size preferences. These requests would be sent to the Settlement via Hudson's Bay Company ship.

Conclusions

Dress and cloth were important items of trade in all areas of the Canadian West. Their adoption and use by natives, metis and European settlers have revealed much about fur trade society. The factors that have been identified with influencing choice of dress

in Red River Settlement are outlined in the following section. These fall under three broad headings: 1) demographic factors, 2) external factors, and 3) aesthetic factors. Demographic factors are comprised of the variables, *race*, *religion*, *parish of residence*, *social position*, and *sex*. External factors include the geographical area, availability of goods, and inter-settlement trade. Aesthetic preferences form the third factor. These factors, in most cases, are not independent of each other and there is a large overlap.

Demographic Factors

Race, Religion, Descent, and Parish of Residence

As shown through the preferences indicated in their choice of textile and dress items, *Religion* and *Race* are factors of importance. In addition, the settler's parish of residence influenced dress choice. This occurrence can be attributed to reasons similar to those associated with race and religion. Established near missions, the parish was an important aspect of Red River Settlement daily life, "it incorporated the educational, religious, and communal needs of the inhabitants" (Ens, 1990, p.11). Parishes could be split by religious and racial affiliation. Residents usually remained close to their ties with the parish. As a result, parishes were generally homogeneous in their make-up (for example, Protestant-metis or Catholic-metis). Settlers indicated alliance with a group through their dress. Therefore, styles deemed appropriate by a group influenced a member's purchases. Residents of the various parishes could be distinguished from each other by their choice of dress. For example, among all the parishes, shawls are purchased primarily by settlers from St. Paul's (43.9%) and Ste. Anne des Chenes (33.8%). Individual items would not identify the wearer, but the manner in which items were assembled did. In the instance of capots and assomption sashes, the placement of the belt indicated whether the wearer was French or metis.

Social Position

The demographic determinants of social class were related to buying power, education and income; textile and dress purchases reflected these factors. Clothing was indicative of how settlers assigned themselves to the levels of Red River's social hierarchy. The European presence in the colony influenced ideas of respectability and as a result, changed the way in which dress was viewed. Respectability was tied to one's marriage, position in the company and descent. As the European presence in Red River Settlement became more powerful, acculturated metis became popular. Victorian ideas

of marriage and family greatly influenced the Red River Settlement. Perhaps the best example of this was demonstrated by the increase in children's shoe purchases in 1835 by non-Europeans. Frances Simpson's cultural influence had arrived by the year in question. Shoe purchases are a tangible example of the new emphasis placed on European ideas of respectability and refinement in Red River. Those settlers wishing to appear respectable in the eyes of the Simpsons' and the other members of Red River's *Principal Settlers*[1] would adopt shoes as the footwear of choice. The use of clothing worn by non-Europeans in a European style indicated an affinity to the latter group's values and mores. By 1835 those not wearing shoes were assigned to a lower class by the other settlers. The use of moccasins might have indicated a greater affinity with a native heritage. European ideas of proper dress that had first been introduced by the non-native fur traders were reinforced as Red River Settlement's European population grew. Education, introduced to the Red River Settlement by missionaries, becomes a factor in dress choices. Educated members of the metis population were more likely to find European styles of dress consistent with their developing social values. These values were again heavily influenced by the European presence.

Sex Roles

Sex Roles or gender roles are a factor that has not previously been discussed, but are of importance. Taylor (1970) stated that patterns of dress correlated to changing sex roles. Historical periods when men are dominant and sex roles are distinctly defined are referred to as *patrist* eras. Clothing in these eras reflects these differences. Periods when there is an equality among sex roles are *matrist* eras and clothing becomes unisexual. This theory can be assigned to the Red River Settlement. In the beginning period of the fur trade when women's roles were highly valued and formed an important contribution to the trade, clothing was similar in appearance. Native clothing from this time shows loose styled tunics and leggings worn by both men and women. As the European presence grew and women's roles became increasingly limited to purely social positions, men's standings strengthened and clothing came to define the role of each sex. In the higher classes,. women's clothing restricted movement and forced a dependence on men and servants.

---

[1] The Principal Settlers were a "small group [which] consisted largely of British and a few Canadian-born officers of the former NorthWest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company....they possessed not only the wealth, but the habits, and in some cases the education that qualified them for leadership in Red River" (Ens, 1990. p.75).

Clothing choices indicated affinity to groups that were based on demographic variables. The extent to which a settler identified with a demographic group determined how closely dress styles were imitated. Upward mobility and changing sex roles were shown through clothing choices.

Aesthetic Preference

Aesthetic preference is a function of culture. Each cultural group and each individual retains unique ideas of beauty and attractiveness. In Red River Settlement, aesthetic factors doubtless played a part in preference for goods. Colour, or ways of wearing dress, are influenced by aesthetic preference. In this study, items exhibiting similar qualities were purchased purely on the basis of color. Descent influenced this aesthetic preference for differing colours. For example, European Catholics favoured green stroud (80.1%) and purchased more than other groups. However, the causes of these aesthetic preferences are impossible to determine through an analysis of ledgers and censuses.

In conclusion, an analysis of Hudson's Bay Company ledgers and censuses has illustrated that dress was both a social and economic communicator. Many factors influenced the choices of dress including the European presence and the resulting European ideas of respectability, the available goods, and the background of the settler. Religion, racial descent, and parish of residence appear to have been contributing demographic factors in Red River's purchasing decisions. Studies of textiles and dress provide an excellent indicator of Red River's evolution from a fur trade community dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company to a community with an economic life of its own.

External Factors

Geographical Area

The geographical location of the Red River Settlement forced settlers to contend with both the isolation and the climate of the area. The relative seclusion of the settlement from fashion centres meant lags in fashion change as news and information reached the community slowly. Living in a climate drastically different from their British roots, these settlers used clothing to protect their bodies from the cold. The severe winters which plagued the first settlers compelled them to use layers of clothing. Letitia Hargrave reported that she wore layers of flannel and wool to provide a reprieve

from the cold temperatures. Buffalo robes, point blankets, woolen garments, and capots were purchased from the post store for their warmth. The metis population, for the most part, was acclimatized to the extremes in temperature in the Red River Settlement. Their dress traditions already provided them with clothing capable of providing adequate warmth, as the fur garments used were extremely effective in insulating the wearer. Clothing choices were borrowed from both segments of the population. Protection was a factor considered by the Red River Settlers and one that influenced textile and dress choices.

Availability of Goods

The availability of European goods in the Red River Settlement was a second factor that influenced dress choices. There are two issues involved. The first must assess the effect that recently introduced materials had on clothing construction in the Red River Settlement. In other words why were traditional materials rejected in favour of goods imported by the Hudson's Bay Company? The most pronounced example of this is seen in the shift away from skins to the large amounts of woolen goods purchased instead. Outerwear traditionally manufactured with skins was instead constructed with new materials like duffle and stroud. Woolen leggings and capots became uniforms of the metis population, a group which could have learned from their native heritage and utilized skins. Materials which worked extremely well in the past as a barrier against the cold were rejected in favour of European cloth. Using cloth acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company was a status symbol. The ability to purchase the available goods was dependent on economic wealth and position in the community.

The second part of the availability factor examines the Hudson's Bay Company store. Goods were imported into the settlement once a year. As a result, there was not a large, revolving stock. If the store did not have the item, colour, or size the settler was interested in, a second choice item would most likely be purchased. As the company enjoyed a relative monopoly in the area in the four years surveyed, there were few alternatives for those requiring textile and dress goods. Thus, the available supply of textile and dress items in the post store affected the clothing choices settlers were able to make. The ability to obtain these goods also depended a great deal on one's position in the settlement, as higher ranking settlers had first choice of goods. It was perhaps because of this degree of favouritism and scarcity of goods that settlers began to seek out new ways of acquiring goods.

A second part to this availability factor must address the Hudson's Bay Company's purchasing decisions in Britain. The criteria the company used in selecting those goods which would be exported to Rupert's Land would affect the goods available in the post stores. This study did not examine the company's buying policies in Britain and a future study could examine if goods in Britain were bought according to demand from Rupert's Land or by other economic factors..

Inter-Settlement Trade

Trade between settlers and parishes resulted from the ability of these different groups to supply goods. Settlers like the Kildonan Scots, who possessed weaving skills traded cloth. However, as this group required sturgeon oil to be able to make woolen yarn, they traded with Indian groups. This trade provided the Red River settlers with alternate sources for woolen textile and dress items and diminished the need to buy these from the Company store.

Recommendations

Recommendations from the study fall into two broad areas: the first is a critique of the methods and sources used, the second is an outline for future research.

Critique of Methods

Early on in the study it was thought that oral histories and analysis of museum artifacts would provide additional information on dress in the Red River Settlement. This was abandoned as a feasible research method because of the time involved. Oral histories would have had to rely on remembrances of participants from 1815 to 1835. Obviously there would have been no first hand memories and the researcher would have had to trust information passed down from previous generations. The bias and problems involved with this type of research were deemed too difficult for this type of study. There is, however, a need to utilize artifacts from the Red River Settlement area in material culture research. There needs to be a greater understanding of the whole metis identity. Both the French and the British metis produced articles of dress and these artifacts are housed in museum collections. An analysis of these artifacts will provide greater insight into metis material culture.

Critique of Sources

The usefulness of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives to costume historians should be stressed. The information regarding dress and textile goods imported to Canada in the fur trade period is a valuable resource. Ledgers were kept by each post and included listings of the goods imported by the company. Inventories were also kept and indicated the amounts of goods in the post's holdings. A standardized instrument, such as the one developed in this study, enables future researchers to contrast and compare geographic areas and time periods. The complete listing of goods imported by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Red River Settlement from 1815 to 1835 which is included in this thesis' appendices may be used in the re-creation of post stores.

This study's methods were very effective in revealing what was purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store. A major limitation, however, was the nature of the source; it described only one distributor of these items -- the Hudson's Bay Company. The goods available through the company were either ready made or unconstructed. The sources used cannot indicate what was done with these materials once they left the store. Descriptions from journals, letters and books of the time period supplement the available material and describe other uses of textile and dress items but they do not describe all segments of the population. The writers of these materials were, for the most part, not metis. It is not known what percentage of the native or metis population was literate during the time period of this study, but it is assumed that it was a small percentage. Thus, descriptions of metis items are missing from the available written sources. Metis material culture, especially items of dress, cannot be determined from an analysis of Hudson's Bay Company ledgers. These items were primarily produced from raw materials, in some cases materials purchased from the post store, but again their appearance is unknown. Studying extant artifacts with extensive provenance will reveal more about metis material culture than an analysis of archival material.

For similar reasons to those outlined above, an additional limitation with the ledgers was their inability to accurately represent male and female dress. While it was possible to determine a likely male costume from the itemization of the account ledgers combined with the demographic information from the censuses, it was difficult to determine what a woman's costume was comprised of. It was practical only to conclude what the components of the costume were, for example what a likely fabric was or that the woman wore a blanket as a shawl. This necessitated an increased reliance on

firsthand descriptions of dress. Unfortunately for the costume researcher, these first hand accounts have been written primarily by the male participants of history. These men are more likely to record what their peers were wearing. Extant female writings, such as those written by Letitia Hargrave in York Factory during the 1840's, are scarce. This is an unfortunate fact as these writings express an awareness of and interest in dress that is a boon to the present day costume researcher. The findings of this study reflect a bias that has plagued many social historians: historical sources have been written primarily by European male participants. Thus, any written archival material associated with this time period has an inherent gender and cultural bias.

Future studies

Attribute analysis of photographs from later time periods to in Red River Settlement should be conducted. The University of Winnipeg in Manitoba has a large photographic collection. Archives, including the Provincial Archives of Manitoba and the National Archives in Ottawa, have photographs as part of their collections. Also, the National Art Gallery and other like institutions could be consulted for paintings like those by Rindisbacher and Kane. The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, the St. Boniface Museum and other museums in Manitoba should be consulted for items of dress from the appropriate time period. Using donor information, it would be possible to trace the family demographic structure. Areas outside of Red River Settlement could be analyzed using a similar methodology to compare how dress and textiles differed geographically, temporally and culturally. Further research could also be conducted on textile imports to Canada from Britain in the nineteenth century. There is little evidence in the post ledgers of how purchasing decisions were made by the Hudson's Bay Company in Britain. An analysis of this criteria would form a useful study. The companies supplying goods to the Hudson's Bay Company should be investigated to expand the knowledge of this source of textile and dress items. Based on the assumption that a shift from subsistence to capitalism occurred among the native population as the European presence in the settlement grew and the frequency of visits to the post stores by natives increased, a future study could perhaps analyze when this occurred. A comparison of household expenditure on textile and dress items between Red River Settlement and other areas of Canada could be done to reveal the importance placed on clothing. The meeting of two cultures in the Canadian West created new traditions based on the experiences of both. A future study could examine technologies, such as weaving, which borrowed from one culture and adapted to fit a new climate using new materials.

REFERENCES

Anawalt, P.R. (1975). Pan-mesoamerican costume repertory at the time of Spanish contact (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 36,* 10A.

Axtell, J.L. (1981). *The European and the Indian: Essays in the ethnohistory of colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Barth, F. (Ed.). (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture differences* . Boston: Little Brown.

Blakeslee, D.J. (1975). The plains interband trade system: An ethnographic and archeological investigation. (Doctoral dissertation. University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 37,* 03A.

Boucher, F. (1987). *20,000 years of fashion: The history of costume and personal adornment,* expanded edition. New York: Abrams.

Brasser, T.J. (1975, Autumn). Metis artisans. *The Beaver,* pp. 52-57.

Brasser, T.J. (1987). In search of metis art. In J. Peterson & J.S.H. Brown (Eds.), *The new peoples: Being and becoming metis in North America* (pp. 221-230). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Broner, S.J. (1985). *American material culture and folklife.* Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press.

Brown, J.S.H. (1980). *Strangers in blood: Fur trade families in Indian country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Brown, J.S.H. (1983). Women as centre and symbol in the emergence of metis communities. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, III*(1), 39-46.

Brown, J.S.H. (1986). Northern Algonquians from Lake Superior and Hudson Bay to Manitoba in the historic period. In Bruce Morrison & Roderick Wilson (Eds.) *Native peoples: The Canadian experience* (pp. 208-237). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Brown, J.S.H. (1987). The Metis: Genesis and rebirth. In B.A. Cox (Ed.), *Native people, native lands.* Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Buck, A. (1979). *Dress in eighteenth-century England.* London: Batsford.

Carmack, R.M. (1972). Ethnohistory: A review of its development, definitions, methods and aims. In B.J. Sigel (Ed.), *Annual review of anthropology* (pp.227-246). Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.

Carter, S. (1986, Spring). Site Review: The women's sphere: Domestic life at Riel house and Dalnavert. *Manitoba history: Women in Manitoba history.* pp.55-61.

Clayton-Gouthro, C.M. (1987). *Design system of moccasin ornamentation of Janvier Band Chipewayan.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Cohn, B.S. (1968). Ethnohistory. In D.L. Sills (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social sciences: Vol. 6.* (pp. 440-448). New York: MacMillan.

Collard, E. (1967). *Early clothing in Southern Ontario.* Burlington, ON: Author.

Culley, B.L. (1977). A structural and cultural analysis of Southwestern Pueblo weaving. (Doctoral dissertation, Illinois State University). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 39,* 09A.

Cyr, K.A.S. (1978). *Dress of the Chippewa (Ojibwa) Indians: An analysis of change from 1640-1940.* Unpublished master's thesis, Michigan State University.

Daignault, J. (1945, Fevrier). Mes souvenirs. *Les Cloches de Saint Boniface* , p. 28.

Dempsey, H.A. (1985, Fall). The metis: Historical photos from the Glenbow Museum. *Rotunda, 18*(2). 24-27.

Dickason, O.P. (1982). From "one" nation in the Northeast to "new nation" in the Northwest; A look at the emergence of the Metis. *American Indian culture and Research Journal, 6*(2).

Douaud, P.C. (1983). Canadian metis identity; A pattern of evolution. *Anthropos, 78,* 71-88.

Duncan, K.C. (1982). Bead embroidery of the Northern Athapaskans: Style, design evolution and transfer. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 42,* 12A.

Eicher, J.B. & Roach-Higgins, M. (April, 1989). *Dress and gender: Developing a theoretical perspective on identity and dress.* Paper presented at Workshop on the Anthropology of Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning, sponsored by Centre for Cross Cultural Research on Women, University of Oxford, Oxford, England.

Ens, G. (1989). Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and the Red River metis: The Parishes of St. François Xavier and St. Andrew's. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 51,* 01A.

Ethnohistory. (1986). *33*(2), title page.

Ewers, J.C. (1954). The Indian trade of the upper Missouri before Lewis and Clark: An interpretation. *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin, 10*(4), 429-446.

Ewers, J.C. (1961). Symposium on the concept of ethnohistory- Comment. *Ethnohistory, 8,* 262-270.

Ewing, E. (1984). *Everyday dress, 1650-1900.* London: Batsford Ltd.

Fairchild Publications. (1979). *Fairchild's dictionary of textiles (6th ed.).* New York: Author.

Fenton, W.N. (1962). Ethnohistory and its problems. *Ethnohistory, 9,* 1-23.

Fenton, W.N. (1966). Field work, museum studies, and ethnohistorical research. *Ethnohistory, 13,* 71-85.

Forrest, A. & Oakes, J. (1991). The blanket coat: Unique Canadian dress. *Canadian Home Economics Journal, 41*(3) 121-127.

Foster, J.E. (1972). *The country-born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Foster, J.E. (1976). The origins of the mixed bloods in the Canadian West. In L.H. Thomas (Ed.). *Essays on Western History.* Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press.

Foster, J.E. (1985). Some questions and perspectives on the problems of metis roots. In J. Peterson & J.S.H. Brown (Eds.). *The new peoples: Being and becoming metis in North America* (pp.73-94). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Foster, V. (1984). *A visual history of costume: The nineteenth century.* London: Batsford.

Friesen, G. (1987). *The Canadian prairies: A history.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary, Canadian edition. (1974). Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside.

Gage Canadian Dictionary. (1983). Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Corporation.

Gilman, R.R., Gilman, C. & Stultz, D.M. (1979). *The Red River trails.* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society.

Giraud, M. (1945). *le Métis Canadien: Son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest.* Paris: L'institut d'ethnologie.

Goldring, P. (1970, Summer). Lower Fort Garry. *The Beaver.* pp.26-38.

Gosman, R. (1977) *The Riel and Lagimodiere families in Métis society, 1840 - 1860.* Parks Canada Manuscript Report, No. 171. Ottawa.

Grant, H. (December 1988 - January 1989). Revenge of the Paris hat. *The Beaver.* 37-44.

Hargrave, J.J. (1977). *Red River.* Altona: Friesen. (Original work published in 1871 by John Lovell: Montreal)

Harrison, J.D. (1985). *Metis: People between two worlds.* The Glenbow Institute.

Hayes, S.D. (1986, Spring). Metis research. *Generations, 11*(1). 3-7.

Healy, W.J. (1923). *Women of Red River.* Winnipeg: Peguis.

Henige, D. (1982). *Oral Historiography.* New York: Longman.

Holford, M. (1984). Dress and society in Upper Canada, 1791-1841. *Costume*, 78-88.

Holford, M. (1984a, March/April). Sesquicentennial styles: Wearing apparel in the eighteen-thirties. *Canadian Collector*, pp.40-44.

Holsti, O.R. (1968). Content Analysis. In G.Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology: Vol. 2* . (pp. 596-692). Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Hood. A. (1979). *Book Review of Rural Pennsylvania Clothing.*

Innis, H.A. (1962). *The fur trade in Canada.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Johnstone, B. (1982, Winter). The growth of Red River Settlement. *Generations, 7*(4). 3-8.

Joseph, M. (1981). *Introductory textile science* (4th ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kaiser, S.B. (1985). *The social psychology of clothing.* New York: MacMillan.

Kassarjian, H.H. (1977). Content analysis in consumer research. *Consumer Research Journal, 4*, 8-18.

Kefgen, M. & Touchie-Specht P. (1986). *Individuality in clothing selection and personal appearance* (4th ed.). New York: MacMillan.

Kerkhoven, M. (1986). *Analysis of textile crafts at selected agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1879-1915.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Lansdell, A. (1977). *Occupational costume and working clothes, 1776-1976*, Shire Album 27. Bletchley: Shire.

Laver, J. (1982). *Costume and fashion: A concise history.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Littlefield, L. (1980). Women traders in the maritime fur trade. In B.A. Cox (Ed.) *Native People Native Lands.* Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Lummis, T. (1981). Structure and validity in oral evidence. *International Journal of Oral History, 2*(2), 109-120.

MacBeth, R.G. (1897). *The Selkirk settlers in real life.* Toronto: William Briggs

MacLeod, M.A. & Norton, W.L. (1974). *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown.* Carleton Library No. 71. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart.

MacLeod, M.A. (1947). *The letters of Letitia Hargrave.* Toronto: The Champlain Society, XXVIII.

Mann, J. (1971) *The London weaver's company, 1600-1970.* London.

McBride, S. (1988). *Factors influencing current fabric hood production in Eskimo Point, NWT.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

McCarthy, Martha. (1990). *To evangelize the Nations: Roman Catholic Missions in Manitoba, 1818 - 1870.* Papers in Manitoba History, Report #2.

McCracken, G. (1982) Rank and two aspects of dress in Elizabethan England. *Culture, II*(2), 53-62.

Metis National Council. (1984). *The Metis nation.* Ottawa: author 1:6.

Miller, M.T. (1979). Sexual differentiation and acculturation in Potawatomi costume. In J.M. Cordwell & R.A. Schwarz (Eds.), *The fabrics of culture* (pp. 313-330). New York: Mouton Publishers.

Morier, J. (1979) Metis decorative art and its inspiration. *Dawson and Hind, 8*(1), 28-32.

Morton, A.S. (1939). *A history of the Canadian West to 1870-75.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Morton, W.L. (1957). *Manitoba: History of a province.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Newman, P. (1987, October-November). A fearful innocence. *The Beaver.* pp.32-58.

Nicks, T. (1985). Mary Anne's dilemma: The ethnohistory of an ambivalent identity. *Canadian Ethnic studies, XVII*(2), 103-114.

O'Meara, W. (1968). *Daughters of the country: The women of the fur traders and mountain men.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Oakes, J.E. (1987). Factors influencing Kamik production in Arctic Bay, Northwest Territories. *Canadian Museum of Civilization, Mercury Series, No.107.* National Museums of Canada.

Oakes, J.E. (1988). Caribou and Copper Inuit clothing production. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 49,* 04A.

Oswalt, W.H. (1986). L*ifecycles and lifeways; An introduction to cultural anthropology.* Palo Alto: Mayfield.

Pannabecker, R.K. (1986). Ribbonwork of the Great Lakes Indians: The material of acculturation (Doctoral Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 47,* 961A-962A.

Pannabecker, R.K. (1990). Linking anthropology and history in textiles and clothing research: The ethnohistorical method. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, 8*(3), 14-18.

Pannakoek F. (1976). The Anglican church and the disintegration of Red River society. In L.H. Thomas (Ed.), *Essays on western history* (pp. 83-97). Edmonton: University of Alberta Press

Pannakoek, F. (1987). *The fur trade and western Canadian society 1670-1870.* Ottawa: C.H.A. Historical Booklet No. 43.

Paoletti, J.B. (1980). Changes in the masculine image in the United States 1881-1910: A content analysis of popular humor about dress. *Dissertation abstracts International, 42*, 4409a (University Microfilms International No. 8117362).

Paoletti, J.B. (1982). Content analysis: Its application to the study of the history of costume. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, 1*, 14-17.

Peterson, J. (1978). Prelude to Red River: A social portrait of the Great Lakes Metis. *Ethnohistory, 25*(1), 41-67.

Peterson, J. (1982) Many roads to Red River; Metis genesis in the Great Lakes region 1680-1815. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 6*(2). 23-64.

Pocius, G.L. (1979). Oral history and the study of material culture. *Material History Bulletin*, No.8. Ottawa: National Museum of Man,73.

Pritchett, J.P. (December, 1936). A letter by Lord Selkirk on Trade between Red River and the United States. *Canadian Historical Review, 17* 418-423.

Ray, A.J. (1988). Indians as consumers in the eighteenth century. In Robin Fisher & Kenneth Coates (Eds.) *Out of the background: Readings on Canadian native history.* Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropology, 38*, pp. 149-152.

Reitzel, J.M., and Lindemann, B. (1982). Historical evidence. In R.B. Smith and P.K. Manning (Eds .) *Handbook of social science methods: Vol. 2. Qualitative methods* (pp.167-196). Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger.

Roach, M.E. & Musa, K.E. (1980). *New perspectives on the history of western dress; A handbook.* New York: NutriGuides.

Robinson, H.M. (1879). *The great fur land or Sketches of life in the Hudson's Bay territory.*

Ross, A. (1972) *The Red River Settlement: Its rise, progress, and present state, with some account of the native races and its general history to the present day* (introduction by W.L. Morton). Edmonton, Hurtig. (Original work published in 1856).

Ross, L.A. (1976). *Fort Vancouver, 1829-1860; A historical archeological investigation of the goods imported and manufactured by the Hudson's Bay Company.* Washington, DC: Cultural Resources Management Division.

Roy, C.L. (1990). *The tailoring trade 1800-1920; Including an analysis of pattern drafting systems and an examination of the trade in Canada.* Unpublished master's thesis, University Alberta, Edmonton.

Royal Ontario Museum. (1967). *Modesty to mod: Dress and underdress in Canada, 1780-1967.* Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum/ University of Toronto.

Schweger, B. (1983). *Documentation and analysis of clothing worn by non-native men in the Canadian Arctic prior to 1920, with emphasis on footwear.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Severa, J. & Horswill, M. (1989). Costume as material culture. *Dress, 15*, pp. 51-64.

Smith, D.R. (1987). *Dressmaking occupations in Edmonton, 1900-1930.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Smith, S.A. (1963, Spring). The historic fort on the Red. *Moccasin Telegraph*, pp.1-3.

Sprague, D.N. & Frye, R.P. (1983). *The genealogy of the first metis nation: The development and dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820 -1900.* Pemmican Publications: Winnipeg.

Sprenger, G.H. (1972). The Metis nation: Buffalo hunting vs. agriculture in the Red River Settlement (circa 1810-1870). [Special Issue: The Fur Trade in Canada]. *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 3*(1), 158.

Spry, I.M. (1985). The metis and mixed-bloods of Rupert's land before 1870. In J. Peterson & J.S.H. Brown (Eds.), *The new peoples; Being and becoming Metis in North America* (pp.95-118). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

St. Onge, N. (1985). The dissolution of a Métis Community: Point Grouette, 1860-1885. *Studies in Political Economy, 18*, 149-172.

Stanley, G.F. (1960). *The birth of western Canada: A history of the Riel rebellions.* (2nd ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Stanley, G.F. (1985). *Louis Riel.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Statistics Canada. (1990) *Income and expenditure accounts division. System of national accounts National income and expenditure accounts; Quarterly estimates 1983 Q1 - 1990 Q4.*

Stepney, P.H.R. & Goa, D.J. (Eds.). (1990). *The Scriver Blackfoot collection: Repatriation of Canada's heritage.* Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta.

Stewart, J. (1987). *Lower Fort Garry Costume Plan.* Unpublished research report for the Canadian Parks Service, Prairie and Northern Region.

Taylor, G.R. (1970). *Sex in history.* New York: Vanguard Press

Taylor, L.M. (1990). *Fabric in women's costumes from 1860 to 1880: A comparison of fashion periodicals and selected Canadian museum collections.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Tortora, P. G. (1973). *The evolution of the American fashion magazine as exemplified in selected fashion journals 1830-1969.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, New York.

Touliatos, J. & Compton, N.H. (1988). *Research methods in human ecology/home economics.* Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Tozer,J. & Levitt, S. (1983). *Fabric of Society: A century of people and their clothes, 1770-1870.* Manchester: Laura Ashley Ltd.

Trenton, P. & Houlihan, P.T. (1989). *Native Americans: Five centuries of changing images.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc.

Turner, F.J. (1953). *The frontier in American History.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Tytler, P.F. (1853). *The northern coasts of America and the Hudson's Bay territories.* Edinburgh: T. Nelson & sons.

Ure, A. (1843) *A dictionary of arts, manufacturers and mines; Containing a clear exposition of their principles and practices.* New York: D Appleton & Co.

Van Kirk, S. (1980). *Many tender ties; Women in fur trade society.* Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer.

Wallace, W.S. (Ed.). (1932). *Maclean's notes of a twenty-five year's service in the Hudson's Bay territory.* Toronto: Champlain society (Vol 19).

Washburn, W.E. (1961). Ethnohistory: History "in the round". *Ethnohistory, 8* 31-48.

West, J. (1966). *The substance of a journal during a residence at the Red River Colony.* New York: S.R. Publishers Ltd/Johnson reprint Company. (Original work published in 1824)

Wilcox, R.T. (1958). *The mode in costume: A history of men's and women's clothes and accessories from Egypt 3000 B.C. to the present.* New York: Scribners.

Williams, G. (1969). *Andrew Graham's observations on Hudson's Bay: 1767-1791.* London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society.

Williams, G. (Autumn, 1983). The Hudson's Bay Company and the fur trade: 1670-1870. [Special Issue]. *The Beaver.*

Wrigley, F.A. & Schofield, R.S. (1966). *An introduction to English historical demography: From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Ens, G. (1989). History Professor, *Personal communications.*

Foster, J.E. (1990). History Professor, *Personal communications.*

Stewart, J. (1989). Retired Period Costume Curator, *Personal communications.*

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Coding Sheet for Red River Settler's Purchases
from the Hudson Bay Company Post Store.

Variable	Location	Value Description
Person ID	1 - 4	
NAME	6 - 31	
YEAR	33 - 36	
DATE	38 - 41	
QUANTITY	42 - 43	
ITEM	44 - 46	(see appendix C)
POUNDS	47 - 48	
SHILLINGS	49 - 50	
PENCE	51 - 52	
TOTAL NO	53 - 54	Total number of goods purchased.
TOTAL POUNDS	55 - 56	
TOTAL SHILLINGS	57 - 58	
TOTAL PENCE	59 - 60	

Sample of Ledger Data
Coding Sheet

ID _____
Name _____
Date _____
Quantity _____
Item _____
Price _____
Total No _____

Appendix B

Rules for Coding Sheets for HBC Post Ledgers.

1. Enter Identification number (ID) of individual
2. Enter the name of the individual.
3. Enter date of purchase by year, day, and month.
4. Enter quantity of item.
5. Enter name/description of item (refer to appendix c)
6. Enter price.
7. Enter total number of items purchased by the individual.
8. Enter total amount spent.

Appendix C

001 'yards baize,white'
002 'yards bath coating,grey'
003 'yards bleached sheeting'
004 'yards bombazine'
005 'yards common striped cotton'
006 'yards common printed cotton'
007 'yards fine printed cotton'
008 'yards fine striped cotton'
009 'yards fine calico'
010 'yards common flannel, white'
011 'yards common flannel, red'
012 'yards sfine flannel'
013 'yards HBay plain stroud,blue'
014 'yards common stroud, white'
015 'yards common stroud, red'
016 'yards common stroud, green'
017 'yards 2nd cloth, blue'
018 'yards 2nd cloth, green'
019 'yards 2nd cloth, brown'
020 'yards fine Irish linen'
021 'yards sfine genoa corduroy'
022 'yards corded cloth, blue'
023 'yards corded cloth, red'
024 'yards dimity'
025 'yards bleached dowlas'
026 'yards duffle, white'
027 'yards grandrills'
028 'yards hessins'
029 'yards holland, brown'
030 'yards huckaback'
031 'yards osnaburgs'
032 'yards patent canvas #6'
033 'yards russian sheeting'
034 'yards silk serge'
035 'yards tartan'
036 'worsted, colored'
037 '4 point plain blanket'
038 '4 point striped blanket'
039 '4 point plain blanket, green'
040 '3.5 point plain blanket'
041 '3.5 point striped blanket'
042 '3 point plain blanket'
043 '3 point striped blanket'
044 '2.5 point plain blanket'
045 '2.5 point striped blanket'
046 '2 point plain blanket'
047 '2 point striped blanket'
048 '1.5 point plain blanket'
049 '1.5 point striped blanket'
050 'embossed blanket'
051 'kersey great coat'
052 'sartout coat, brown'
053 'cloth capot, blue list, 2nd blue'
054 'cloth capot, white'
055 'cloth capot, gray'
056 'Illinois capot, blue'
057 'corduroy jacket, drab'
058 'cloth jacket, white'
059 'guernsey frock'
060 'fine cotton shirt'
061 'common cotton shirt'
062 'common striped cotton shirt'
063 'cotton printed shirt'
064 'comm flannel cot shirt, white'
065 'common wool shirt'
066 'fine linen shirt'
067 'cassimere vest, buff'
068 'kersey vest, white or scarlet '
069 'quilting vest'
070 'swansdown vest'
071 'valentia vest'
072 'common cloth trousers, blue'
073 'corduroy trousers, olive or drab'
074 'duck trousers'
075 '2nd cloth trousers, blue'
076 'jean striped trousers'
077 'mixed makeen trousers,buff'
078 'striped cotton trousers'
079 'kersey trousers'
080 'ladies pellisses'
081 'azera handkerchief, blue'
082 'berkeley muslin handkerchief'
083 'bernagore handkerchief, blue'
084 'britannia handkerchiefs'
085 'cambric'
086 'china silk handkerchief'
087 'common cotton handkerchief'
088 'cotton band handkerchief, red'
089 'cotton figured handkerchief, blue'
090 'silk handkerchief, fancy colored'
091 'silk handkerchief, midnight black'
092 'flannel handkerchief'
093 'light check petticoat handkerchief'
094 'light check malabar handkerchief'
095 'madras handkerchief'
096 'muslin handkerchief'
097 'petticoat handkerchief, turkey red'
098 'romal handkerchief'
099 'round cotton handkerchief'
100 'ribbon'
101 '9/8 chintz shawl'
102 '6/4 chintz shawl'
103 '3/8 chintz shawl'
104 '4/4 cotton shawl'

105 'imitation shawl'
106 'thibet cloth shawl'
107 'common military shoes'
108 'canadian pumps'
109 'galoche shoes'
110 'gentlemens/english shoes'
111 'mens bound shoes'
112 'ladies leather shoes'
113 'childrens monaco shoes'
114 'Indian shoes'
115 'silk and cotton soosee'
116 'common wool hat'
117 'mens plated hat'
118 'mens fine plated hat'
119 'round beaver hats'
120 'highland cap'
121 'milled cap, grey or scarlet'
122 'ladies plated hat'
123 'ladies beaver bonnets'
124 'childrens common wool hat, blue'
125 'childrens fine hats'
126 'silk hat cover'
127 'broad belt, scarlet or crimson'
128 'narrrow belt, scarlet or crimson'
129 'fine canadian belt'
130 'patent leather peak'
131 'small handbag'
132 'ivory haircombs'
133 'large haircombs'
134 'pair fine gilt earrings'
135 'pair common gilt earrings'
136 'fine gilt neck chain'
137 'pound common round beads'
138 'pound enamel beads'
139 'mock cravat neck lacy'
140 'suspenders'
141 'womens mitts'
142 'mens cotton hose, white'
143 'mens plain worsted hose, grey'
144 'ribbed hose'
145 'womens worsted hose, slate'
146 'boys worsted hose, grey'
147 'gilt vest buttons'
148 'gilt jacket buttons'
149 'gilt coat buttons'
150 'metal vest buttons'
151 'metal jacket buttons'
152 'metal coat buttons'
153 'mother of pearl vest buttons'
154 'mother of pearl jacket buttons'
155 'mother of pearl coat buttons'
156 'lead buttons'
157 'yards gartering, scarlet'
158 'tassels'
159 'silk twist'
160 'skeins silk thread'
161 'stitching thread'
162 'all colored thread'
163 'gold hat tassels'
164 'yards spotted swansdown'
165 'fine cloth trousers, blue'
166 'boys jockey cap'
167 'imit silk bandana,handkerchief'
168 'gingham cotton shirt'
169 'vest buff cap'
170 'fine cloth jacket, blue'
171 'jean trousers, drab'
172 'broadest b. web'
173 'moose skin'
174 'buffalo robe'
175 'reindeer skin'
176 'yards 2nd cloth, scarlet'
177 'yards 2nd cloth, grey'
178 'highland gartering'
179 'large dressed deer skin'
180 'dressed buffalo skin'
181 'small dressed deer skin'
182 'fine wool hat'
183 'jean jacket'
184 'ladies bootines'
185 'sfine beaver hat'
186 'whitney blanket'
187 '2nd best hat'
188 'flannel drawers'
189 'flannel waistcoat'
190 'finger rings'
191 'holland tape'
192 'scotch cambric'
193 'rob roy wool shawl'
194 'silk velvet'
195 'gauze, green'
196 'irish sheeting'
197 'fine cloth vest'
198 'silk ferrets'
199 'fustian trousers'
200 'bead necklaces'
201 'cotton velvet'
202 'small red deer skin'
203 'narrow lace'
204 'kersey jacket'
205 'LS gartering'
206 'hood'
207 'superfine cloth'
208 'vitterie'
209 'mitts'
210 'dbl breasted vest'
211 'sheeting trousers'
212 'monkey quill jacket'

213 'hessian boots'
214 'linen handkerchief'
215 'fustian'
216 '7/4 shawl'
217 '8/4 super rich shawl'

Appendix D

Coding Sheet for Red River Settler Census Data, 1815 to 1835

Variable	Location	Value Description
ID	1-4	
NAME	6-31	
SEX	32	1 'male'
		2 'female'
AGE	33-34	
YEAR	35-38	
RACE	39	1 'European'
		2 'metis'
		3 'Indian'
RELIGION	40	1 'Roman Catholic'
		2 'Protestant'
		3 'Other'
BIRTHPLACE	41	1 'R.R.S. or N.W.T.'
		2 'Canada'
		3 'England'
		4 'Orkney Islands'
		5 'Scotland'
		6 'Ireland'
		7 'U.S.A.'
		8 'France'
PARISH	42-43	01 'St. Andrews'
		02 'St François Xavier'
		03 'St. Peters'
		04 'St. Clements'
		05 'St. Pauls'
		06 'St. Johns'
		07 'Winnipeg-Ft.Garry'
		08 'St. Boniface'
		09 'St. Vital'
		10 'Ste. Anne des Chenes'
		11 'St. Charles'
		12 'St. James'
		13 'High Bluff'
		14 'Poplar Point'
		15 'Portage La Prairie'
		16 'Scratching River'
		17 'Kildonan'
		18 'Ste. Agathe'
		19 'Baie St. Paul'
		20 'Headingly'
		21 'Indian Village'
		22 'St Norbert'
STATUS	44	1 'Male Head'
		2 'Female Head'
FAMILY SIZE	45-46	
SONS LESS THAN 16	47-48	

SONS GREATER THAN 16	49-50
DAUGHTERS LESS THAN 15	51-52
DAU.GREATER THAN 15	53-54
CULTIVATED ACREAGE	55-56
BUILDINGS	57-58
HORSES	59-60
CATTLE	61-62
PIGS	63-65
TOTAL LIVESTOCK	66-67
FARM IMPLEMENTS	68-69
CARTS	70-71
BOATS	72

Appendix E

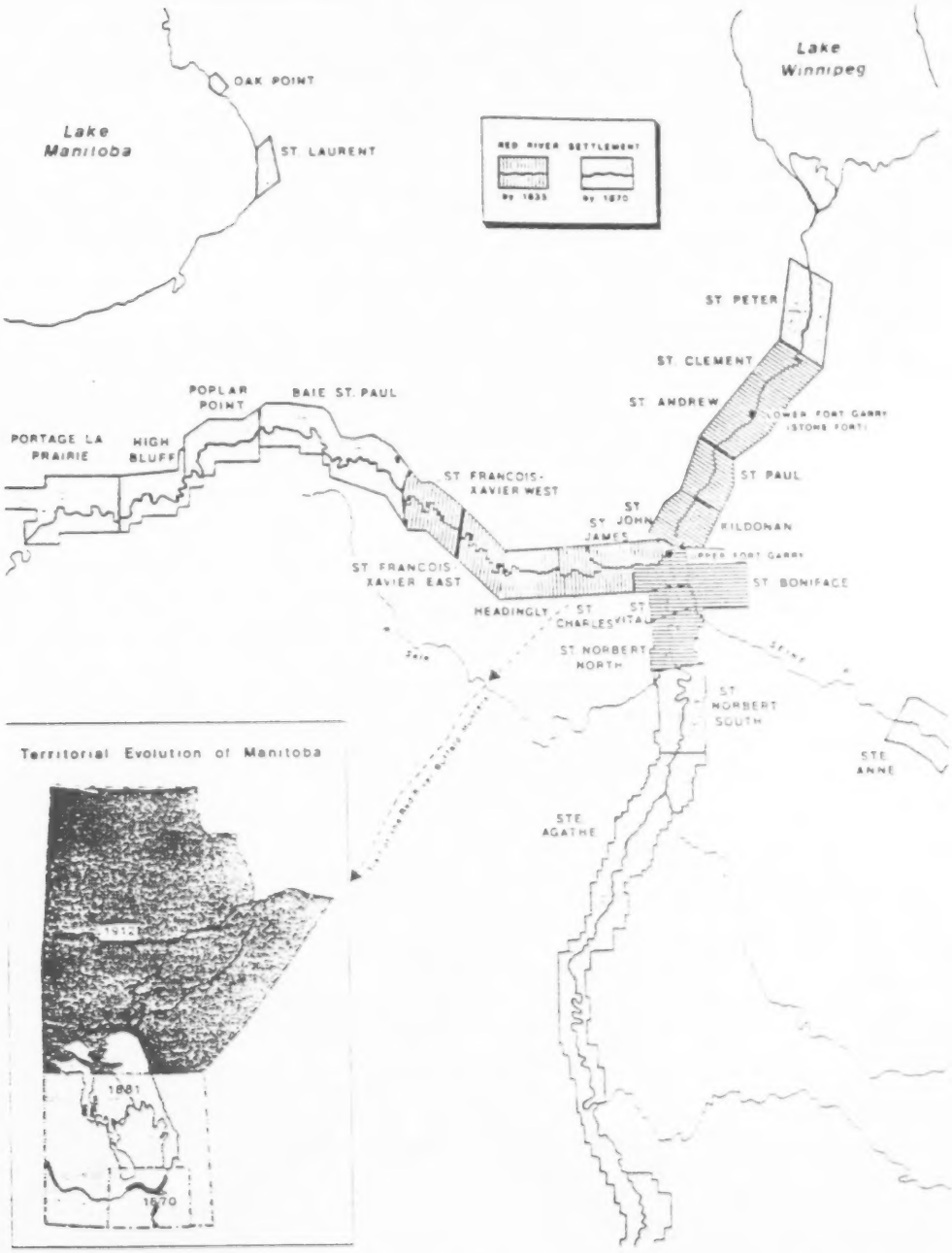
Rules for Coding Sheets for Red River Settlement Census Data.

1. Enter the name of the individual.
2. If able to determine from name, enter sex of individual. If it is undeterminable, enter "9".
3. Enter Birth Year of Individual.
4. Enter race of individual. If unknown, enter "9".
5. Enter religion of individual. If unknown, enter "9".
6. Enter birthplace of individual. If unknown, enter "9".
7. Enter parish of residence. If unknown, enter "99".
8. Enter I.D. status. If unknown, enter "3".
9. Enter Family size. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as a missing value.
10. Enter the number of sons under 16. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
11. Enter the number of sons over 16. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
12. Enter the number of daughters under 15. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
13. Enter the number of daughters over 15. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
14. Enter the number of cultivated acreage. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
15. Enter the number of buildings. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
16. Enter the number of horses. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
17. Enter the number of cattle. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
18. Enter the number of pigs. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
19. Enter total livestock. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
20. Enter the total number of farm implements. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
21. Enter the total number of carts. If this figure is unavailable, enter "99" as missing data.
22. Enter the total number of boats. If this figure is unavailable, enter "9" as missing data.

Appendix F

The Parishes in the Red River Settlement were:

1= St. Andrews
2= St François Xavier
3= St. Peter's
4= St. Clement's
5= St. Paul's
6= St. John's
7= Winnipeg-Ft.Garry
8= St. Boniface
9= St. Vital
10= Ste. Anne des Chenes
11=St. Charles
12= St. James
13= High Bluff
14= Poplar Point
15= Portage La Prairie
16= Scratching River
17= Kildonan
18= Ste. Agathe
19= Baie St. Paul
20= Headingly
21= Indian Village
22= St Norbert



Map of Red River Settlement, 1870.
Drawn by Victor Lytwyn
Source:
Sprague, D.N. & Frye, R.P. (1983). *The genealogy of the first metis nation: The development and dispersal of the Red River Settlement 1820 -1900.* Pemmican Publications: Winnipeg.

Azera Blue Hankerchief "fine East Indian muslin type of gingham" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 316).

Baize "a heavy woolen fabric woven and then brushed to create a long nap which imitated felt" (Ross, 1976, p.579).

Bath Coating "a lightweight fabric with a long nap" (Websters & Park, 1856, p.945).

Bombazine "a thin, plain twilled woolen fabric, with single warp threads, which have been pressed and finished without a glaze" (Ross, 1976, p.579). " black and used primarily in mourning" (Buck, 1979, p. 225).

Britannias Hankerchief "a heavy bleached or gray linen fabric that was made in Germany for export to the West Indies" (Fairchild, 1979, p.82).

Cambric Hankerchief "a cotton fabric of lancashire made from hard twisted yarn and having a glossy or glazec finish" (Ure, 1848, p. 251).

Canadian Belt A brightly colored woven worsted belt often worn with the Capot. Also referred to in the ledgers as broad or narrow scarlet /crimson belts. Known by the terms "l'assomption sash" and "Ceinture fleche".

Capot "manufactured from a single blanket, a capot was a thigh-length coat with a full-length sleeves which would come with or without a hood or cape. Most had small shoulder decorations made of red stroud, and to keep the capot closed, both thongs and/or buttons were used along with a colorfully woven worsted belt. Used primarily by the native populations" (Ross, 1976, p.591).

Cassimere "a plain weave or twilled woolen or worsted fabric with a clean finish, woven with hard spun yarns. Often made with worsted warp and woolen filling or sometimes with a cotton warp and worsted or woolen filling in a two up, two down twill weave. The fabric is lustrous, light or medium weight, and has a harsh feel...2) twilled fabric with a silk warp and woolen filling woven on a jacquard loom to form a design

with the silk yarn" (Fairchild, 1979, p.110).

China Silk Hankerchief "a plain weave, lustrous lightweight silk fabric produced in China and Japan. The threads are irregular and very soft" (Fairchild, 1979, p.122).

Chintz "originally a glazed, plain weave cotton fabric, generally woven with a hard spun fine warp and coarser, slack twist filling and decorated with a brilliantly colored pattern or flowers,or stripes" (Fairchild, 1979, p.127).

Cloth " a fabric woven with threads spun of short woolen fibres. After weaving, the fabric was shrunk or fulled and then brushed to raise a thick nap which completely covered the weave" (Mann, 1971, p .xi). Cloth came in four grades, Superfine, Fine, Second and List which was the lowest grade of this particular textile (Ross, 1976).

Corduroy "a durable cotton fabric with thin to wide vertical ribs made from a cut pile." (Ross, 1976, p.576).

Dimity "a range of lightweight, sheer cotton fabrics characterized by warp cords made by bunching and weaving two , three or more threads together" (Fairchild, 1979, p.189).

Dowlas "a strong, coarse, half-bleached linen fabric made in England, Ireland and Brittany and used locally for many years by the lower classes for towels, shirts, etc" (Fairchild, 1979, p.198).

Drab "certain cloths of dull brown, yellowish or gray color. Usually a twilled cotton cloth similar to drill; a heavy woollen fabric of dull color; a thick strong woolen over-coating made in England" (Fairchild, 1979, p.199).

Duffle, Duffields "originally a heavy woolen over-coating with a thick nap produced in England in the 18th century" (Fairchild, 1979, p.206).

Ferrets "a narrow silk ribbon used for trimming" (Ross, 1976, p.584).

Flannel "a light or medium weight woolen fabric of plain or twill weave with a slightly napped surface. Can include cotton (Fairchild, 1979, p.241). Letitia Hargrave

said this fabric was "the best thing [she could] see. It is fine and at the same time close and compact"and that "the poorest people here rush at the dearest flannel" (cited in Macleod, 1947, p.71). Andrew Graham outlined the use of flannel as a lining fabric for cloth waistcoats and skin breeches (cited in Williams, 1969).

Gauze, green silk "a thin open-weave silk fabric which was often transparent. Two sizes brought in $\frac{9}{8}$ and $\frac{5}{4}$" (Ross, 1976, p.578). According to Letitia Hargrave, it was used in the battle against insects as mosquito netting.

Genoa Corduroy "corduroy woven with a twill back" (Fairchild, 1979, p.149).

Great Coat "heavy voluminous overcoat worn by men and women, originally made with fur linings and styles similar to an ulster". (Fairchild, 1979).

Guernsey "a heavy knit sweater worn by the natives of the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel. Patterns, usually heavy cable-stitch types, were distinctive of a family, similar to the clan tartans of Scotland" (Fairchild, 1979, p.278).

Hessins "a heavy plain woven jute or hemp cloth with a coarse texture. Commonly called burlap, it was used for bags and sacks" (Ross, 1976, p.577).

Holland "a plain weave cotton or linen fabric, usually a low count print cloth which is heavily sized and may or may not be glazed" (Fairchild, 1979, p.294).
Holland Tape "a linen or cotton plain woven fabric which was heavily sized. Three sizes (broad, middling and narrow) and two colors (black and white) existed" (Ross, 1976, p.584).

Huckaback "a heavy absorbent fabric woven in a honeycomb pattern with loosely twisted weft threads" (Ross, 1976, p.577).

Indian Shoes The post ledger refers to these shoes which are most likely moccasins.

Irish Linen "a fine lightweight flaxen fabric woven in Ireland. Three grades were imported by the HBC; Fine $\frac{7}{8}$ number 16, finer number 19 and YF" (Ross, 1976, p.578).

Kersey "1) a woolen fabric, face finished with a highly lustrous, fine nap. It is fulled more and has shorter nap than beaver and about the same weight as melton and beaver. Durable; uses: over-coating and uniforms. 2) a diagonal ribbed or twill fabric, coarse and heavily fulled, either woven of all wool or with a cotton warp and woolen weft" (Fairchild, 1979, p.327).

Madras Hankerchief "a hand woven cotton dress fabric made in Madras, India and dyed in many colors" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 368).

Malabar Hankerchief "East Indian cotton handkerchiefs printed in bright contrasting colors" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 370).

Muslin Hankerchief "firm, plain weave cotton fabric" (Fairchild, 1979, p.405).

Osnaburg's "first made of flax and tow. The original cloths were often dyed in blue and white and brown stripes, checks and solid colors, and were used locally for work clothing" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 428).

Pelisse "18th C caped, or hooded, $\frac{3}{4}$ length cloak with armhole suits and entire collar, hem, and front usually edged with fur, sometimes with silk or satin" Fairchild, 1979). " a women's fitted overcoat " (Foster, 1984, p. 143).

Point Blanket originally manufactured in Britain by such companies as "Whitney", these blanket were imported by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1780 onward. Made of wool and mostly handwoven, the points denoted the size and weight of the blanket and ranged from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 points (Forrest & Oakes, 1991).

Rob Roy Shawl Most likely a shawl of the "Rob Roy" tartan..

Romal Hankerchief "a linen or cotton square in blue plaid patterns" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 510).

Round Cotton Hankerchief "a rounded, diagonal rib effect made with a satin weave" (Fairchild, 1979, p.513)

Russian Sheeting "a plain woven flaxen fabric which presumably had heavy warps with light wefts" (Ross, 1976, p.578).

Sheeting "a plain weave cotton fabric usually made with carded yarns (Fairchild, 1979, p. 550).

Sizes cloth sizes imported by the Hudson's Bay Company were measured in *ells*. An ell measured 45 inches, with a quarter-ell equaling 9 inches and an eighth-ell measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. For widths in between eighths, measurements were generally given in inches (Ross, 1976, p. 574).

Cloth Sizes used for British Fabrics imported by the Hudson's Bay Company

Ells		
Quarters	Eighths	Inches
$\frac{1}{2}$		27"
	$\frac{7}{8}$	$31\frac{1}{2}$"
$\frac{4}{4}$		36"
	$\frac{9}{8}$	$40\frac{1}{2}$"
$\frac{5}{4}$		45"
$\frac{6}{4}$		54"
$\frac{7}{4}$		63"
$\frac{8}{4}$		72"
$\frac{10}{4}$		90"

Silk Serge "a smooth, strong twilled silk fabric woven with pronounced diagonal ribs on the front and back. Two colours were imported by the HBC, black and green" (Ross, 1976, p.578).

Soosee Hankerchief "a handwoven, plain weave silk fabric made in Madras and other parts of India" (Fairchild, 1979, p.572).

Stroud or Strouding "a coarse blanketing formerly used in trade with North American Indians" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 589).

Swansdown "a heavy, filling faced cotton fabric woven with a crow twill with a soft spun filling. The fabric is napped on the face. Uses: underwear and workman's clothes in Great Britain" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 594).

Surtout an overcoat.

Tartan "a plain twill weave woolen fabric woven in a plaid design. Clan Tartans included; Argyle, Clan Ranald, McDuff, Rob Roy, Royal Stuart" (Ross, 1976, p.581).

Thibet Cloth "a heavy weight wool dress fabric or coating, well fulled, and finished with a soft smooth face" (Fairchild, 1979, p. 615).

Valentia or Valencia "a strong, warp striped fabric made with a silk and cotton warp and a woolen or worsted filling. Uses: waistcoats" (Fairchild, 1979, p.646).

Worsted, Colored "a woolen yarn, loosely spun, used for knitting and darning" (Ross, 1976, p.585).

Appendix H

252 Cotton Dry Goods:

002 'yards bath coating,grey'
005 'yards common striped cotton'
006 'yards common printed cotton'
007 'yards fine printed cotton'
008 'yards fine striped cotton'
009 'yards fine calico'
010 'yards common flannel, white'
011 'yards common flannel, red'
012 'yards sfine flannel'
021 'yards sfine genoa corduroy'
022 'yards corded cloth, blue'
023 'yards corded cloth, red'
024 'yards dimity'
164 'yards spotted swansdown'

251 Woolen Dry Goods:

001 'yards baize,white'
004 'yards bombazine'
013 'yards HBay plain stroud,blue'
014 'yards common stroud, white'
015 'yards common stroud, red'
016 'yards common stroud, green'
017 'yards 2nd cloth, blue'
018 'yards 2nd cloth, green'
019 'yards 2nd cloth, brown'
026 'yards duffle, white'
035 'yards tartan'
176 'yards 2nd cloth, scarlet'
177 'yards 2nd cloth, grey'
207 'superfine cloth'

253 Linen Dry Goods:

003 'yards bleached sheeting'
020 'yards fine Irish linen'
025 'yards bleached dowlas'
028 'yards hessins'
030 'yards huckaback'
031 'yards osnaburgs'
033 'yards russian sheeting'
196 'irish sheeting'

241 Silk Dry Goods:

034 'yards silk serge'
194 'silk velvet'
195 'gauze, green'
198 'silk ferrets'

248 Notions:

029 'yards holland, brown'
036 'worsted, colored'
147 'gilt vest buttons'
148 'gilt jacket buttons'
149 'gilt coat buttons'
150 'metal vest buttons'
151 'metal jacket buttons'
152 'metal coat buttons'
153 'mother of pearl vest buttons'
154 'mother of pearl jacket buttons'
155 'mother of pearl coat buttons'
156 'lead buttons'
157 'yards gartering, scarlet'
159 'silk twist'
160 'skeins silk thread'
161 'stitching thread'
162 'all colored thread'
172 'broadest b. web'
178 'highland gartering'
191 'holland tape'
203 'narrow lace'
205 'LS gartering'

223 Point Blankets:

037 '4 point plain blanket'
038 '4 point striped blanket'
039 '4 point plain blanket, green'
040 '3.5 point plain blanket'
041 '3.5 point striped blanket'
042 '3 point plain blanket'
043 '3 point striped blanket'
044 '2.5 point plain blanket'
045 '2.5 point striped blanket'
046 '2 point plain blanket'
047 '2 point striped blanket'
048 '1.5 point plain blanket'
049 '1.5 point striped blanket'
050 'embossed blanket'
186 'whitney blanket'

249 Men's Ready Made:

051 'kersey great coat'
052 'sartout coat, brown'
053 'cloth capot, blue list, 2nd blue'
054 'cloth capot, white'
055 'cloth capot, gray'
056 'Illinois capot, blue'

057 'corduroy jacket, drab'
058 'cloth jacket, white'
059 'guernsey frock'
060 'fine cotton shirt'
061 'common cotton shirt'
062 'common striped cotton shirt'
063 'cotton printed shirt'
064 'comm flannel cot shirt, white'
065 'common wool shirt'
066 'fine linen shirt'
067 'cassimere vest, buff'
068 'kersey vest, white or scarlet '
069 'quilting vest'
070 'swansdown vest'
071 'valentia vest'
072 'common cloth trousers, blue'
073 'corduroy trousers, olive or drab'
074 'duck trousers'
075 '2nd cloth trousers, blue'
076 'jean striped trousers'
077 'mixed makeen trousers,buff'
078 'striped cotton trousers'
079 'kersey trousers'
165 'fine cloth trousers, blue'
168 'gingham cotton shirt'
170 'fine cloth jacket, blue'
171 'jean trousers, drab'
183 'jean jacket'
188 'flannel drawers'
189 'flannel waistcoat'
197 'fine cloth vest'
199 'fustian trousers'
204 'kersey jacket'
210 'dbl breasted vest'
211 'sheeting trousers'
212 'monkey quill jacket'

254 Women's Ready Made:

080 'ladies pellisses'
100 'ribbon'

250 Handkerchiefs:

081 'azera handkerchief, blue'
082 'berkeley muslin handkerchief'
083 'bernagore handkerchief, blue'
084 'britannia handkerchiefs'
085 'cambric'
086 'china silk handkerchief'
087 'common cotton handkerchief'
088 'cotton band handkerchief, red'
089 'cotton figured handkerchief, blue'
090 'silk handkerchief, fancy colored'
091 'silk handkerchief, midnight black'
092 'flannel handkerchief'
093 'light check petticoat handkerchief'
094 'light check malabar handkerchief'
095 'madras handkerchief'
096 'muslin handkerchief'
097 'petticoat handkerchief, turkey red'
098 'romal handkerchief'
099 'round cotton handkerchief'
115 'silk and cotton soosee'
167 'imit silk bandana,handkerchief'
192 'scotch cambric'
214 'linen handkerchief'

222 Shawls:

101 '9/8 chintz shawl'
102 '6/4 chintz shawl'
103 '3/8 chintz shawl'
104 '4/4 cotton shawl'
105 'imitation shawl'
106 'thibet cloth shawl'
193 'rob roy wool shawl'
216 '7/4 shawl'
217 '8/4 super rich shawl'

246 Men's Accessories:

107 'common military shoes'
108 'canadian pumps'
109 'galoche shoes'
110 'gentlemens/english shoes'
111 'mens bound shoes'
116 'common wool hat'
117 'mens plated hat'
118 'mens fine plated hat'
119 'round beaver hats'
120 'highland cap'
121 'milled cap, grey or scarlet'
126 'silk hat cover'
127 'broad belt, scarlet or crimson'
128 'narrrow belt, scarlet or crimson'
129 'fine canadian belt'
130 'patent leather peak'
139 'mock cravat neck lacy'
140 'suspenders'
142 'mens cotton hose, white'
143 'mens plain worsted hose, grey'
144 'ribbed hose'
169 'vest buff cap'
182 'fine wool hat'
185 'sfine beaver hat'
187 '2nd best hat'
206 'hood'

213 'hessian boots'

247 Women's Accessories:

112 'ladies leather shoes'
122 'ladies plated hat'
123 'ladies beaver bonnets'
131 'small handbag'
141 'womens mitts'
145 'womens worsted hose, slate'
184 'ladies bootines'
209 'mitts'

255 Children's accessories:

113 'childrens monaco shoes'
124 'childrens common wool hat, blue'
125 'childrens fine hats'
146 'boys worsted hose, grey'
166 'boys jockey cap'

232 Adornments:

132 'ivory haircombs'
133 'large haircombs'
134 'pair fine gilt earrings'
135 'pair common gilt earrings'
136 'fine gilt neck chain'
137 'pound common round beads'
138 'pound enamel beads'
158 'tassels'
163 'gold hat tassels'
190 'finger rings'
200 'bead necklaces'

229 Skins:

173 'moose skin'
174 'buffalo robe'
175 'reindeer skin'
179 'large dressed deer skin'
180 'dressed buffalo skin'
181 'small dressed deer skin'
202 'small red deer skin'

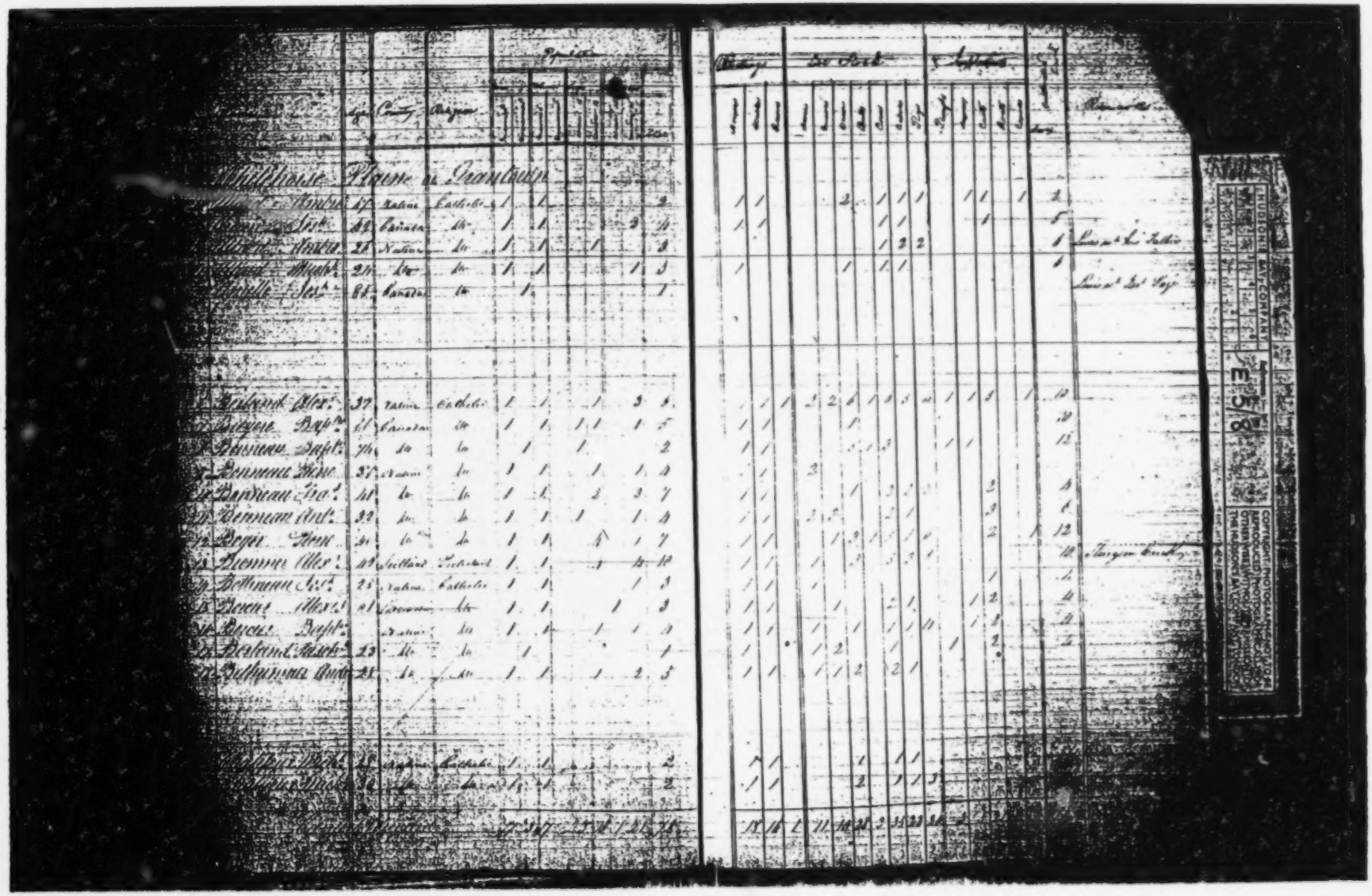
Appendix I

REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT RESTRICTION

Peter Rindisbacher "Halfcast and his Two Wives"
M.Knoedler and Co., Inc. New York

Appendix J

Hudson's Bay Company Ledgers



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
E.7/39
COPYRIGHT PHOTOGRAPH—NOT TO BE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY OR OTHERWISE WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, LONDON

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
Reference —
E.7/39
COPYRIGHT PHOTOGRAPH—NOT TO BE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY OR OTHERWISE WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, LONDON